

## Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Lambda

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# Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Lambda

Annotated Critical Edition

Based upon a Systematic Investigation of  
Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew Sources

*By*

Stefan Alexandru



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## PREFATORY NOTE

The twelfth book of the *Metaphysics*, which was originally an independent treatise, is crucial for the understanding of Aristotle's philosophy, primarily because no such discussion of the highest principle, viz. the Prime Mover, can be found in any of the other Aristotelian writings. The current edition is based, as suggested by W. Jaeger over fifty years ago,<sup>1</sup> upon an investigation of all the known Greek manuscripts as well as upon an examination of the early commentaries and translations. The editor considered it an imperative duty to scrutinize a considerable number of hitherto unduly neglected Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew sources.

This published work represents a slightly revised version of a Doctoral Thesis accepted by the University of Oxford, United Kingdom, in the Academic Year 2001/02. The proofs of this book have been looked over bearing in mind a number of valuable suggestions made by Professor Dr. Robert W. Sharples and Professor Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Rudolf Kassel.

It is hoped that the manifold sources gathered here for the first time will gratify the reader, encouraging further Research into the fascinating and partly still understudied work known as Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.

A particular pleasure is to thank Harvard University, the *Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg* and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* for having advanced the publication of this annotated critical edition.

Cambridge, MA, 20th of August 2011  
Stefan Alexandru

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arist., *Metaph.* ed. W. Jaeger, Oxford 1957, v.



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Selflessly the Professors Bernd Seidensticker, Karl Bormann, Armando Petrucci, Francesco Del Punta and Salvatore Settis furthered my Research in German and Italian libraries. Professor Dr. R. W. Sharples, Directeur de recherche Dr. Denis O'Brien, Prof. Dr. R. Brague, Dr. C. Brockmann and Dr. G. Vuillemin-Diem were extremely obliging when asked for advice. Likewise, I appreciate that the organisers of the Fourteenth Symposium Aristotelicum have put at my disposal typescripts of the presented papers. Additionally, I should like to sincerely thank the University Lecturer in Ancient Philosophy Mr Edward L. Hussey (All Souls College) and Dr. Dr. h. c. Oswyn Murray, FSA; as Senior Tutor of Balliol College and Praefectus of Holywell Manor the latter strongly encouraged and supported my Research at various stages.

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The International Office of Oxford University munificently awarded me a Scatcherd European Scholarship for investigations in Italy and the Vatican City. Other funding for Fieldwork flowed from the Craven Committee of Oxford University and the Gerda Henkel Foundation, Düsseldorf, whose bountiful support is hereby duly acknowledged.

Balliol College, Oxford  
Graduate Centre Holywell Manor

S. A.



## PROLEGOMENA



## A NEW, INDEPENDENT MANUSCRIPT OF THE TWELFTH BOOK OF ARISTOTLE'S *METAPHYSICS*

Codex Vaticanus Graecus 115 (V<sup>k</sup>) has been discussed in the latest studies on the textual transmission of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*<sup>1</sup> and has been repeatedly described in scholarly publications since the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> A careful examination of this manuscript *in situ*, however, yields surprising results. Before focussing on the contents several codicological characteristics should be mentioned.

This Vatican codex is a composite volume; both part I (fols. 1–100) and part II (fols. 100<sup>a</sup>–239) are made of western paper<sup>3</sup> whose approximate thickness varies from 0,18 mm to 0,29 mm in the first part and from 0,14 mm to ca. 0,24 mm in the second.

The watermark patterns hitherto known to be present in part I are: two circles intersected by a cross (fols. 2 sqq., cf. Briquet nos. 3183 and 3186 dated at 1381 and 1326 respectively), flask or phial (fols. 43 sqq., akin to the pattern Mošin-Traljić no. 3940 found in a manuscript which dates back to the year 1342), pot (fol. 60 sqq., remotely similar to Briquet no. 12472, which occurs in a MS from 1352) and nail (fol. 68 sqq., Briquet no. 4175, found in several MSS written between 1326 and 1358).

On closer examination of the last quire, however, one discovers on fols. 95 and 100 the watermark of a lily akin to Piccard XIII 118, which is attested at Lucca in 1350; this watermark is to a great extent covered by strips of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Metaphysik', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, 11, 22–23 and S. Bernardinello, *Eliminatio codicum della Metafisica di Aristotele*, Padua 1970, 126–143.

<sup>2</sup> See C. A. Brandis, 'Die Aristotelischen Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek', *Abh. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Histor.-philol. Cl. 1831, Berlin 1832, 82 and I. Mercati and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci I*, Rome 1923, 142–143.

<sup>3</sup> Only the end-leaves II, III and 238–239 are of parchment; they derive from an older codex and contain fragments of Saint Gregory the Great's dialogues, written in minuscule of the type *bouletée*. Cf. Maria Luisa Agati, 'Lista provvisoria dei manoscritti copiati in minuscule «bouletée»', *Scriptorium* 42, 1988, 104–109 and C. Hannick, 'Die griechische Überlieferung der Dialogi des Papstes Gregorius und ihre Verbreitung bei den Slaven im Mittelalter', *Slovo* 24, 1974, 48.

paper which were pasted by restorers to the inner margins of the leaves in question.

In part II the paper shows the 'Triple Mount' watermark (fols. 101 sqq. and 126–131, close to Piccard XVI, 229 dated at 1444) and scissors (fols. 117 sqq. and 132 sqq., akin to Piccard IX, 1, 868 dated to 1461–1462).

On the basis of the watermark evidence part I has been assigned to the fourteenth century and part II to the fifteenth.<sup>4</sup>

The codex measures 208 – 3 × 140 – 5 mm,<sup>5</sup> comprising IV + 242 + III leaves;<sup>6</sup> the leaves 1–242 and the two ensuing parchment end-leaves are now foliated 1–239; after the folia 100 and 155 there are five blank leaves which bear the numbers 100<sup>a</sup> and 155<sup>a</sup>–155<sup>d</sup> written by another hand.

Fols. 153 and 158 are slips of paper measuring ca. 137 × 140 mm and 110 × 88 mm respectively, which were fitted into the binding at some stage.

The codex consists of thirty-one quires; the paper is of 4° size. Part I is made up of eleven quaternions followed by two ternions (1<sup>8</sup>–11<sup>8</sup>, 12<sup>6</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup>); the current structure of part II is 1<sup>8</sup>–5<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>8</sup>–18<sup>8</sup>, two additional leaves being attached at the very end; the folia numbered 236 and 237 are singletons which were pasted to the posterior part of the eighteenth quire,<sup>7</sup> i.e. to fol. 235<sup>v</sup>.

Those two leaves are of particular interest, not only because they belong to another section of the codex, but also since they might cast some light upon its earlier structure. Both of them contain parts of *Metaph.* Δ which are missing in quires five and six: Fol. 236 comprises the lines 1022 b 19–1023 b 25, while fol. 237 transmits the passage 1021 b 12–1022 b 18. They neatly fit in between fol. 139 and 140, given that the text written on the former ends with 1021 b 11 (λευκῶ εἶναι), whereas the first words set down on fol. 140<sup>r</sup> are ὅλον λέγεται (1023 b 26). Thus the original order of these folia was 139, 237, 236, 140.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I. Mercati and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* I, Rome 1923, 143.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that in part II some of the marginalia—all written in the same hand as the text—were damaged through trimming (cf. fols. 195<sup>v</sup> and 225<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> The number of 242 leaves results if we include also the two slips of paper mentioned *infra* (viz. fols. 153 and 158).

<sup>7</sup> Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri misleadingly argued that the second part of the codex consists of seventeen quires (see I. Mercati and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, 143 and IX); that this is incompatible with the total number of folia extant in the second part of the MS becomes evident if one bears in mind that the fifteen quaternions, the binion and the ternion mentioned in the catalogue contain not more than 130 leaves altogether.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. I. Mercati and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, XXVII.

Fol. 139 is the last leaf of the fifth quaternion; on the other hand fol. 140 currently represents the first fold of the unique binion found in this codex, viz. of the sixth quire. Since the present sequence of fols. 236 and 237 does not reflect, as has already been shown, their initial order of succession, viz. fol. 237 immediately preceding fol. 236, the current adherence of these leaves to each other as well as their fastening into the modern binding do not provide the slightest indication about the place which they had in the original structure of the codex. It cannot be ruled out that fols. 237 and 236 initially formed a single-quire (like the folia of certain papyrus codices).<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, it is most likely to assume that the two *membra disiecta* initially appertained to the sixth gathering, which currently is a binion, but which probably was in the earliest stage a quaternion, having the same structure as the five preceding and as the ensuing quire,<sup>10</sup> especially since the fifth quire is a quaternion with an entirely regular structure and since no loss of text occurred at the transition from the fourth to the fifth gathering.<sup>11</sup>

The folia 101–237 are ruled with a hard point; on fols. 101–155<sup>d</sup> which are our main concern the ruling is of the type 20D1 Leroy (= I, 2 b Lake).

The second part of the codex is an autograph of the Byzantine humanist and Ecumenical Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios (born between 1400 and 1405 in Constantinople, d. ca. 1472 in the monastery of St. John the Baptist on Mount Menoikeion).<sup>12</sup> This is indicated at the top of fol. 153<sup>r</sup>, where Γενναδίου preceded by the *signum crucis* is written in the same hand as the rest of part II and as the undisputedly autograph words Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν Γεννάδιον found on fol. 81<sup>r</sup> of cod. Vat. gr. 433.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, 58.

<sup>10</sup> In that case one has to hypothesize the disappearance of two leaves between fols. 143 and 144, straightaway after the end of *Metaph.* E and before the beginning of the next section. It cannot be ruled out that those leaves were blank, like the ones that form the break between the two sections which follow upon book E (fols. 155<sup>a</sup>–155<sup>d</sup>), and that they were torn off to serve other purposes, in which case one could easily see how the fols. later numbered 237 and 236 came off and got misplaced.

<sup>11</sup> Such a loss would betray the absence of the conjoints.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* s.v. Σχολάριος, Γεώργιος Κουρτέσης, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* s.v. “Gennadios II Scholarios” and the detailed investigation of Θεόδωρος Ν. Ζήσης, *Γεννάδιος Β' Σχολάριος: Βίος, συγγράμματα, διδασκαλία*, Thessalonica 21988.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* II, 1937, 161 and H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600* 1.B, Vienna 1981, 35–36. See further L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès,

Several characteristics of Gennadios Scholarios' handwriting listed in the first volume of the *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten* occur also in cod. Vat. gr. 115. For instance the ligature Epsilon-Xi which is met with in V<sup>k</sup> fol. 151<sup>v</sup>, l. 11 is found not only in the survey compiled by H. Hunger,<sup>14</sup> but also in the autograph letter of Gennadios from cod. Vat. gr. 2223 reproduced by de' Cavalieri and Lietzmann.<sup>15</sup> The same applies to the ligature Epsilon-Rho;<sup>16</sup> further distinctive features are the shape of the letters Zeta<sup>17</sup> and Eta,<sup>18</sup> as well as the sequence of letters Lambda-Omicron-Gamma.<sup>19</sup> Nowadays Mercati's ascription of fols. 101–237 of V<sup>k</sup> to Gennadios Scholarios is unexceptionally accepted.<sup>20</sup>

Most of the initials, the titles, some of the punctuation marks and partly the figures are rubricated. The parchment binding is modern, bearing the coat of arms of Pope Pius IX (1846–1878). There are no notes of ownership apart from Vatican seals.

On the lower part of fol. III<sup>v</sup> a rectangular slip of parchment has been glued, which measures 44 × 85 mm and carries the following brief indication of the contents:

Somnum Scipionis cum / exp.<sup>ne</sup> Macrobiani. & / alia Aristotelis. / 1070.

This rather puzzling piece of parchment, whose exact function has not yet been determined, resembles the one reproduced by R. Devreesse from cod. Vat. gr. 534<sup>21</sup> and reveals itself on closer examination as a remnant of Federico

M. Jugie (eds.), *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios publiées pour la première fois*, vol. IV, Paris 1935, 1: Κἔ Ιϋ Χἔ υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέγησόν με τὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν Γεννάδιον νῦν· Γεώργιον δὲ Σχολάριον, ὅτε ταῦτα συνεγραψάμην, σοῦ βοηθοῦντος : –

<sup>14</sup> See H. Hunger, *op. cit.*, 36.

<sup>15</sup> See Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri and Iohannes Lietzmann, *Specimina codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum*, Berlin <sup>2</sup>1929, plate I 59, l. 22.

<sup>16</sup> See *ibid.*, l. 8 and H. Hunger, *op. cit.*, 36.

<sup>17</sup> See cod. Vat. gr. 115, fol. 151<sup>v</sup>, 24–25; cf. Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri and Iohannes Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, plate I 59, l. 18 and H. Hunger, *op. cit.*, 36.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. H. Hunger, *op. cit.*, 36 and V<sup>k</sup> fol. 151<sup>v</sup>, 7.

<sup>19</sup> See V<sup>k</sup> fol. 151<sup>v</sup>, 4 and H. Hunger, *op. cit.*, 36.

<sup>20</sup> See Giovanni Mercati, 'Appunti Scolariani', *Bessarione* 36, 1920, 121. Repr. in idem, *Opere minori* IV (Studi e Testi 79), Vatican City 1937, 84. Cf. H. Hunger, *op. cit.*, 3 A, Vienna 1997, 61; see also X. Γ. Πατρινέλη, "Ελληνες κωδικόγραφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως, 'Επετηρίς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου 8–9, 1958–1959, 113, as well as D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Studi e Testi 244), Vatican City 1965, 472. The slip of parchment reproduced by Devreesse measures 44 – 1 × 80 mm and has similar graphic characteristics.

Ranaldi's activity as librarian.<sup>22</sup> For the number 1070 occurs on fol. 110<sup>r</sup> of cod. Vat. lat. 13191, which is Federico's list,<sup>23</sup> where we read in lines 2–7:

Somnium Scipionis cum exp<sup>ne</sup> Macrobbii / Aristotelis metaphysica / Epitome physices Aristotelis incerto auctore / Item libri de coelo / Item de memoria et reminiscencia / Item de anima exp. in succinto.<sup>24</sup>

Besides, faint traces of the inventory number 1070 become visible under ultraviolet light on page 856 of cod. Vat. gr. 2340 B, the second volume of the Πίναξ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων τῆς Βατικανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης set up by Giovanni di Santa Maura (1540–1613), *scrittore in greco* of the Vatican Library nominated in 1591.<sup>25</sup> The current shelf mark, 115, is also found in the margin of cod. Vat. gr. 2340 B, being written over its erased forerunner. The fact that parts of the old inventory number can still be seen in cod. Vat. gr. 2340 confirms that Federico Ranaldi's inventory numbers, which had been added in the margins of cod. Vat. gr. 2340, were afterwards erased, being replaced by those of Domenico.<sup>26</sup>

The new shelf mark was given by Domenico Ranaldi, custodian of the Vatican Library from 1594 to 1606 and nephew of Federico.<sup>27</sup> It can be read at the beginning of l. 23 on fol. 225<sup>v</sup> in cod. Vat. lat. 13190, which is an autograph of Domenico Ranaldi; the obsolete inventory number 1070 is added at the end of that line.

On the basis of the evidence provided by cod. Vat. lat. 3963 and by cod. Vat. lat. 3965 it can be established that the Aristotelian manuscript we are concerned with was received by the Vatican Library in 1551, after having been acquired in Venice together with ca. fifty other Greek codices.<sup>28</sup> Its two parts were joined already at that time, for on fol. 6<sup>v</sup>, ll. 11–17 of cod.

<sup>22</sup> Federico Ranaldi is first attested in 1555 as assistant of the custodian Fausto Sabeo. On 8 November 1559 F. Ranaldi was in the employ of the Vatican Library as custodian, succeeding Sabeo, who died in October 1559; F. Ranaldi is known to have died on 2 September 1590. Cf. Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI: Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits* (Studi e Testi 272), Vatican City 1973, 325 and 75.

<sup>23</sup> See Giovanni Mercati, *Opere minori* III (Studi e Testi 78), Vatican City 1937, 231, n. 4; cf. R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec ...*, 471, n. 7.

<sup>24</sup> With regard to l. 2 of fol. 110<sup>r</sup>, the first line quoted here, cf. the first two lines written on the piece of parchment which has been mentioned above.

<sup>25</sup> For further details and literature cf. Jeanne Bignami Odier, *op. cit.*, 291 and 90 n. 58.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec ...*, 481 n. 53.

<sup>27</sup> See *ibid.* 470 as well as Jeanne Bignami Odier, *op. cit.*, 327 and 350.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. cod. Vat. Lat. 3963, fols. 6<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>r</sup> and cod. Vat. lat. 3965, fols. 22<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>. As can be read on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> of the first-mentioned codex, Cardinal Marcello Cervini, the future Pope Marcel II, was at that time head of the library (cf. Jeanne Bignami Odier, *op. cit.*, 324).

Vat. lat. 3963 we read “Scipionis somnium a Marco Antonio conscriptus, et a Marco Ambrosio commentatus, et in grecam linguam a Maximo Planude traductus, et annotationes in methaphisica [*sic*] Aristotelis, annotationes in libros naturalium, annotationes in libro de coelo, annotationes in libros de anima.”<sup>29</sup>

According to the traditional view codex Vaticanus gr. 115 contains merely books A–E of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*. This view, which is consistent with a statement made by Brandis in 1831 and not in conflict with the description found in the catalogue of Mercati and de’ Cavalieri,<sup>30</sup> has been reasserted also in the most recent survey published in 1979, which includes *inter alia* manuscripts transmitting individual books or smaller sections, e.g. cod. Darmst. Misc. 2773 (D<sup>a</sup>) or cod. Paris. Suppl. gr. 687 (Y).<sup>31</sup>

The prior six books of the *Metaphysics* are indeed present in the manuscript, being found on fols. 101<sup>r</sup>–143<sup>v</sup>. The subsequent part, however, which is entitled Παρρασημειώσεις ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων στοιχείων τοῦ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ (fols. 144<sup>r</sup>–155<sup>v</sup>), and with regard to which the catalogue referred to earlier mentions no further particulars apart from the *incipit*, has never yet been investigated with sufficient care. C. A. Brandis for instance asserted that the sentences found in this section of the MS start with ὅτι,<sup>32</sup> which is not true in every case, whereas Mercati in one of his articles claimed that fol. 153 mentioned earlier has been inserted into the epitome of the tenth book of the *Metaphysics*.<sup>33</sup>

Surprisingly, a close inspection of the manuscript *in situ* reveals on fols. 151<sup>r</sup>–152<sup>v</sup> and 154<sup>r</sup>–155<sup>r</sup> extensive passages from the *twelfth* book of this Aristotelian work. The first twenty lines or so of fol. 151<sup>r</sup> fit the description given by Brandis and mainly relate to the prior part of the book. The subsequent passages are drawn from the posterior part of *Metaph.* A and represent more

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Robert Devreesse, *Le fonds grec ...*, 420.

<sup>30</sup> See I. Mercati and P. F. de’ Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, 142–143. In 1970 Silvio Bernardinello misleadingly argued that the catalogue of Mercati and de’ Cavalieri provides an exhaustive description of this manuscript (cf. S. Bernardinello, *op. cit.*, 126).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>32</sup> See C. A. Brandis, ‘Die Aristotelischen Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek’, *Abh. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Histor.-philol. Cl.* 1831, Berlin 1832, 82.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Giovanni Mercati, *op. cit.*, 121: “Il nome γενναδίου compare in un foglietto (il 153) intercalato all’ epitome del I. X della «Metafisica» e scritto minutissimamente ...”.



than approximately three quarters of it. In order to facilitate an entirely accurate view of this hitherto neglected evidence, a transcription of the relevant sections is given at the end of this chapter.

One should not forget in this context that the second part of Lambda is more poorly transmitted than the first and that it abounds in textual problems; the Florentine manuscript Laurentianus 87, 12 ceases to represent a valuable and insufficiently known stream of the tradition in the posterior part of the book, and the Arabic version of Abū Bishr Mattā, which is mainly based on the lost commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias, breaks off at 1072 b15, a few lines before Gennadios Scholarios starts copying out the portions of text we are concerned with.<sup>34</sup>

As can be seen from the enclosed transcription of the passages relating to *Metaph.*Λ, on fols. 151–152 and 154–155 there are principally quotations; free renderings of certain sections as well as explanatory additions and short links between the quotations are also present.<sup>35</sup> On these folia one will vainly look for reflections of Gennadios Scholarios that are not closely related to the Aristotelian text; this also explains partly why the editors of this Byzantine author have left them unpublished. Gennadios clearly marked the difference between Aristotle's views and his own thoughts prompted by the reading of the text, recording the latter on a slip of paper which was fitted at a later stage into the binding, as has already been pointed out.<sup>36</sup>

Remarkably, the exemplar used by this Byzantine scholar, which has been lost meanwhile, was not only an independent witness, but also belonged to the branch β of the Greek manuscript tradition, deriving from an edition on papyrus rolls whose text differs considerably from the vulgate.

Until now, as far as book Λ is concerned, only three independent manuscripts of this textual family have been known: Cod. Laur. 87,12 (A<sup>b</sup>), transmitting chapters 1–6 in full and the seventh only up to 1073 a1 οὖν due to a change of exemplar, cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. (M), heavily contaminated, omitting *inter alia* the controversial passage 1072 a 24–25 by *saut du même au même*, as well as cod. Taur. B VII 23 (C), which is very conspicuously contaminated and in which some words are missing due to mechanical damage (the codex caught fire in 1904 when the Torinese National Library burnt).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 31–32 and Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, Notice (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe V. 1), Beirut 1948, p. CXXXI.

<sup>35</sup> The sections which are not quotations from the twelfth book of the *Metaphysics* have been reproduced in italics; the smallest amount of quotation is found on fol. 151<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Those reflections are published in *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, ed. by L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès and M. Jugie, vol. VIII, Paris 1936, 505–507.

The affiliation of the passages mentioned above to the  $\beta$  family is made evident by several characteristic readings. For instance in 1072 b 15  $V^k$  correctly reads  $\omicron\lambda$  instead of  $\omicron\lambda$  τε, siding with  $A^b$ ,  $M$  and  $C$  against all the MSS of the  $\alpha$  family.<sup>37</sup> Similarly in 1075 a 5  $V^k$  is in agreement with  $M$  and  $C$ , which transmit τῷ νοουμένῳ, a reading found also in pseudo-Alexander's quotation,<sup>38</sup> instead of the corrupt τοῦ νοουμένου which is written in the MSS of branch  $\alpha$ .

At 1075 a 34 the accurate reading ἡμῖν attested by pseudo-Alexander's commentary survives not only in  $M$  and  $C$ , but also in the Vatican manuscript.

Furthermore, at 1075 b 24  $V^k$  preserves, like  $M$  and  $C$ , the correct lection εἰ found in pseudo-Alexander's lemma, which is mirrored by the *Translatio Anonyma* as well as by William of Moerbeke's Latin version; this reading appears as a rectification of the vulgate εἴ τε on fol. 233<sup>v</sup> of cod. Marc. gr. 211 ( $E^b$ ), a manuscript whose corrector is known to have used a subsequently lost codex of the  $\beta$  family.<sup>39</sup>

The agreements of  $V^k$  with  $M$  and  $C$  are so numerous that a strong affinity with this group is indisputable.<sup>40</sup> Since many peculiar errors of  $M$  and  $C$  are not present in the Vatican manuscript,  $V^k$  cannot be regarded as their apograph;<sup>41</sup> on the other hand neither  $M$  nor  $C$  can possibly derive from  $V^k$ , which transmits only certain parts of the text.

It has been argued that  $V^k$  is contaminated with vulgate readings to the same extent as  $C$ .<sup>42</sup> However, in at least two passages where  $C$  transmits lections of the vulgate,  $V^k$  sides with other representatives of the  $\beta$  family against  $C$ . For in 1075 b 32  $V^k$  and  $M$  omit ἀν, which occurs in  $C$  and in most manuscripts of the  $\alpha$  family; at 1075 a 20  $M$  and  $V^k$  agree with  $E^{b2}$  and the *editio*

<sup>37</sup> However, the lection  $\omicron\lambda$  τε has been added in the margin of  $C$ , where one can also find other characteristic readings of the  $\alpha$  family.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. [Alex.Aphr.], in *Metaph.* 714, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. J. A. P. Byrne, *Codices recentiores of Aristotle's Metaphysics*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1958, 40. An agreement with  $M$ ,  $C$  and  $E^{b2}$  occurs also at 1074 b 4 where  $V^k$ ,  $M$  and  $C$  read προῖκται, a iotacized form of προήκται. The last-cited word is found at the beginning of line eight on f. 233<sup>r</sup> of cod. Marcianus Graecus 211.

<sup>40</sup> For instance in 1071 b 24  $V^k$  transmits in agreement with  $M$  and  $C$  τὰ εἶδη instead of εἶδη or ᾗδη found in the other MSS; similarly  $V^k$  reads with  $C$ ,  $M$  and the *codex descriptus* J<sup>c</sup> λαβεῖν instead of ὑπολαβεῖν at 1073 b 13.

<sup>41</sup> Separative errors in  $M$  against  $V^k$  are for instance ἦν 1072 a 23, 1072 a 27 om. γάρ, 1072 b 5–6 om. ὥστ' ... ἔχειν, 1073 a 38–b 1 om. καὶ ἀνευ ... πρότερον. In  $C$  one finds e.g. the *errores separativi* against  $V^k$  μετὰσχοιεν in 1075 b 19 and τὰς ἀρχὰς in 1075 b 38.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. e.g. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 22 and 27.

*princeps* against C in reading τὰ πάντα instead of πάντα, which is found in the vulgate.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, in 1075 b 19 M and V<sup>k</sup> accurately transmit μετέσχευ against C, which reads μετέσχοιεν.<sup>44</sup> Thus the Vatican manuscript can help to reconstruct readings of the lost hyparchetype β; this is especially useful in the section of *Metaph.* Λ where cod. Laur. 87, 12 represents the α family (i.e. 1073 a 1–1076 a 4) and where the lections of the hyparchetype β had to be restored until now almost exclusively from M and C.<sup>45</sup>

As can be seen from the enclosed transcription, V<sup>k</sup> also exhibits a fairly great number of characteristic readings. Particularly noteworthy is 1072 a 24, where V<sup>k</sup> provides some support for Ross' deletion of the second καί, which has been expunged from A<sup>b</sup>, is omitted in Sylburg's edition, and whose equivalent is missing in one of the Arabic versions quoted by Averroes.<sup>46</sup>

One can now attempt to answer the question how it happened that the passages mentioned above were written out instead of being merely paraphrased. After having copied books A–E Gennadios Scholarios for some reason decided to epitomize the contents of the other books; he carried out this intention until he reached the discussion of the highest principles in the second part of *Metaph.* Λ, where he judged it more appropriate to reproduce in full the sections which interested him. The well-known terseness of the twelfth book probably was one of the factors that determined Gennadios to make an exception, but doubtless also the theological interests of this Byzantine scholar who in 1454 became Ecumenical Patriarch and who translated several works of Aquinas played a certain role. This concern probably also accounts for the fact that a passage of *Metaph.* Λ, which had been omitted, is appended to the epitome of the fourteenth book.<sup>47</sup>

There is no reason to assume that a change of exemplar occurred after the end of book E. As I have shown elsewhere, the Vatican manuscript preserves on fol. 131<sup>r</sup> the trace of a *reclamans* used in antiquity to maintain the correct

<sup>43</sup> It should also be mentioned that V<sup>k</sup> reads in agreement with M οὕτως at 1074 a 4. The Vatican manuscript nevertheless shows some signs of contamination; cf. e.g. 1072 b 5–6, 1073 a 10 and 1073 a 38–b 1.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also *supra*, n. 37.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 32–33.

<sup>46</sup> See Averroes, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), 1591, 8.

<sup>47</sup> See fol. 155<sup>v</sup>, ll. 15–18.

sequence of the papyrus rolls,<sup>48</sup> which is a clear indication of the fact that books A–E also derive from the hyparchetype β.

Finally it has to be pointed out that Gennadios Scholarios' epitome of books Z–K and M–N, which cannot be discussed here and are yet unpublished, deserve the attention of future editors of those books, given that they reflect readings of the lost exemplar.

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<sup>48</sup> For further details cf. S. Alexandru, 'Traces of Ancient *reclamantes* Surviving in Further Manuscripts of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 131, 2000, 13–14.

## NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTION

The few sections which are not quotations have been italicized; as far as those passages are concerned the aim was to preserve the accentuation and punctuation found in the autograph of the Byzantine author, in accordance with the more recent editorial practice.<sup>1</sup> However, the punctuation marks and the accents are not always written precisely, and therefore it was not possible to determine them with certainty in every case; so for instance it was not practicable to distinguish on all occasions between colon and period. On the other hand the accentuation and punctuation of the excerpts from *Metaph.* A is irrespective of the punctuation signs found in the MS, following rules and conventions appropriate to classical texts.

Iota subscript occurs only sporadically in this codex<sup>2</sup> and has often been supplied in the transcription—not only in the sections quoted from Aristotle, but also in the few passages composed by Gennadios Scholarios.<sup>3</sup> Punctuation marks written in red such as Greek or English colon (· and :) as well as rubricated letters have been printed in bold type. Variants recorded in the margins have been usually transcribed at the bottom of the corresponding pages.<sup>4</sup> Superscript words, which are all written by Gennadios' hand, have been incorporated into the text, each of them being mentioned once again separately, alongside the variants.

The lines of the transcription correspond exactly to those of the manuscript; at the end of each line the number of the correlated Bekker line has been added in order to facilitate a rapid orientation of the reader.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Georgius Gemistus Plethon, *Contra Scholarii pro Aristotele obiectiones* ed. Enrico V. Maltese, Leipzig 1988, VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. fol. 152<sup>v</sup>, l. 28 or 154<sup>r</sup>, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Georgius Gemistus Plethon, *op. cit.*, ed. Enrico V. Maltese, X: "iota subscriptum contra Gemisti consuetudinem adhibui."

<sup>4</sup> However, in the transcription of fol. 154<sup>r</sup>, 12 the correct reading τοῦτον found in the margin has been adopted instead of the mistaken lection τούτων.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that the numbers refer primarily to the last word or syllable written in the corresponding line of the manuscript.



CODEX VATICANUS GRAECUS 115 (V\*)

Fol. 151r

ἐκ τοῦ λ'.

"Οτι οὐσίαι τρεῖς κατὰ γένος· μία μὲν αἰσθητή, ἥς ἢ μὲν φθαρτή, ἣν πάντες ὅμοι  
 λογοῦσιν, οἷον τὰ φυτὰ <καὶ> τὰ ζῷα, ἢ δ' αἰθέριος· ἥς ἀνάγκη τὰ στοιχεῖα λαβεῖν,  
 εἴτε ἓν εἴτε πολλά· ἄλλη δὲ ἀκίνητος· ταύτην φασὶ τινες εἶναι χωριστήν,  
 τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά λέγοντες. οἱ μὲν φύσιν μίαν τιθέντες αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ δι-  
 5 αιροῦντες· <οἱ> δὲ τὰ μαθηματικά μόνον τιθέντες. καὶ ἐκεῖναι μὲν φυσικῆς· αὕτη δὲ  
 ἑτέρας. "Οτι τρεῖς ἀρχαί· καὶ τρία τὰ αἷτια· δύο μὲν ἢ ἐναντίωσις, ἥς τὸ μὲν λόγος  
 καὶ εἶδος τὸ δὲ στέρησις, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἢ ὕλη. "Οτι οὐ γίνεται οὔτε ἢ ὕλη  
 οὔτε τὸ εἶδος, λέγω δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα. εἰς ἄπειρον οὖν εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ μόνον ὁ χαλκός  
 γίνεται στρογγύλος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρογγύλον ἢ ὁ χαλκός· ἀνάγκη δὴ στῆναι. τὰ δὲ  
 10 ἄλλα τὰ μετὰξὺ, πάντα μεταβάλλει τί καὶ ὑπὸ τινος καὶ εἰς τί· ὅφ' οὐ μὲν, τοῦ  
 πρώτου κινούντος· ὃ δέ, ἢ ὕλη· εἰς ὃ δέ, τὸ εἶδος. "Οτι οὐσίαι τρεῖς, ἢ ὕλη·  
 τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον· ἥτοι τὸ ἄτομον τὸ τί τούτων· : ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἰδέαι·  
 καὶ τίνι δ' λόγους. "Οτι στοιχεῖα μὲν τρία· αἷτια δὲ καὶ ἀρχαί δ'· ἢ τρόπον  
 τινὰ τρία· συνέρχεται γὰρ ποτε τὸ κινοῦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος· τὸ γὰρ κινοῦν ἐν μὲν τοῖς  
 15 φυσικοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ διανοίας τὸ εἶδος· ἔτι ἀνάλογον  
 ἀρχαί, ἢ τέ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνέργεια· ἀλλὰ πίπτουσι καὶ αὗται εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα  
 αἷτια· ἐνέργεια μὲν γὰρ τὸ εἶδος, ἐὰν ἢ χωριστόν, καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· δυνάμει δὲ  
 ἢ ὕλη· στέρησις δέ, οἷον σκότος ἢ κάμνον· ἢ δὲ ὕλη τὸ δυνάμενον  
 γίνεσθαι καὶ ἄμφω. "Οτι ἀρχὴ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστον, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον·  
 20 ἀνθρωπος μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου καθόλου. Ἀχιλλέως δέ, οὐδεὶς εἰ μὴ Πηλεΐδης· καὶ τοδὶ τὸ β'  
 τουδὶ τοῦ βα'. ἔπειτα ἀρχαί, τὰ εἶδη τὰ τῶν οὐσιῶν. "Οτι ἀνάγκη εἶναι  
 αἰθιδίον τινα οὐσίαν ἀκίνητον· καὶ δεῖ εἶναι ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην ἥς οὐσία ἐνέργεια.  
 ἔτι δεῖ ταύτας τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι ἄνευ ὕλης· : ὅτι ἔστι τι αἰεὶ κινούμενον  
 κίνησιν ἄπαυστον, ἥγουν τὴν κύκλῳ. καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανός· ὥστε αἰθέριος  
 25 ἂν εἴη ὁ πρῶτος οὐρανός. ἔστι τοίνυν καὶ ὃ κινεῖ· ἐπεὶ δὲ κινούμενον καὶ  
 κινοῦν μέσον \*\*\* ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ, αἰθέριον καὶ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια οὐσα.  
 κινεῖ δὲ ὧδε τὸ ὀρεκτόν καὶ τὸ νοητόν· κινεῖ οὐ κινούμενα. τούτων τὰ πρῶτα  
 τὰ αὐτά. ἐπιθυμητόν μὲν γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον καλόν, βουλευτόν δὲ πρῶτον τὸ ὄν  
 καλόν· ὀρεγόμεθα δὲ ὅτι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖ διότι ὀρεγόμεθα·

Fol. 151<sup>v</sup>

1072a30 ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἡ νόησις· νοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ κινεῖται· νοητὴ δὲ ἡ ἐτέρα συστοιχία  
 1072a31 καθ' αὐτήν· καὶ ταύτης ἡ οὐσία πρώτη, καὶ ταύτης ἡ ἀπλή καὶ κατ' ἐνέργειαν.  
 1072a34 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετόν, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συστοιχίᾳ· καὶ ἔστιν ἄριστον  
 1072b1 αἰεὶ ἢ ἀνάλογον τὸ πρῶτον. ὅτι δ' ἔστι τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα ἐν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις, ἢ διαί  
 1072b2 ρεσις δηλοῖ· ἔστι γὰρ τινὶ τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔστι τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι. κινεῖ δὴ 5  
 1072b3 ὡς ἐρώμενον, κινουμένῳ δὲ τὰλλα κινεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν τι κινεῖται, ἐνδέχεται  
 1072b4 ἄλλως ἔχειν· ὥσθ' ἡ φορὰ ἢ πρώτη καὶ ἐνέργειά ἐστιν, ἢ κινεῖται ταύτη δὲ ἐνδέχεται  
 1072b6 ἄλλως ἔχειν, κατὰ τόπον, καὶ εἰ μὴ κατ' οὐσίαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστι τι κινεῖν αὐτὸ ἀκί  
 1072b7 νητον ὄν, ἐνέργεια ὄν, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐδαμῶς. φορὰ γὰρ  
 1072b9 ἢ πρώτη τῶν μεταβολῶν, ταύτης δὲ ἡ κύκλω· ταύτην δὲ τοῦτο κινεῖ. 10  
 1072b10 ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄρα ἐστὶν ὄν· καὶ ἢ ἀνάγκη, καλῶς, καὶ οὕτως ἀρχή. τὸ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον  
 1072b11 τοσαυταχῶς, τὸ μὲν βίᾳ ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ὁρμήν, τὸ δὲ οὐ οὐκ ἄνευ τὸ εὖ, τὸ δὲ  
 1072b13 μὴ ἐνδεχόμενον ἄλλως ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς. ἐκ τοιαύτης ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἡρτηται ὁ οὐ  
 1072b14 ρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις. διαγωγὴ δ' οἷα ἡ ἀρίστη μικρὸν χρόνον ἡμῖν (οὕτω  
 1072b15 γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐκεῖνὸ ἐστίν· ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον), ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡδονὴ ἢ ἐνέργεια 15  
 1072b17 τοῦτου (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγρήγορις αἰσθησις νόησις ἡδιστον, ἐλπίδες δὲ  
 1072b18 καὶ μνήμαι διὰ ταῦτα). ἢ δὲ νόησις ἢ καθ' αὐτήν τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀρίστου,  
 1072b19 καὶ ἡ μάλιστα τοῦ μάλιστα. αὐτὸν δὲ νοεῖ ὁ νοὺς κατὰ μετάληψιν τοῦ νοητοῦ·  
 1072b20 νοητὸς γὰρ γίνεται θιγγάνων καὶ νοῶν, ὥστε ταῦτὸν νοὺς καὶ νοητόν. τὸ γὰρ δεκτικόν  
 1072b22 τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας νοὺς, ἐνεργεῖ δὲ ἔχων, ὥστ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον τοῦτου 20  
 1072b23 ὁ δοκεῖ ὁ νοὺς θεῖον ἔχειν, καὶ ἢ θεωρία τὸ ἡδιστον καὶ ἄριστον. εἰ οὖν οὕτως  
 1072b24 εὖ ἔχει, ὡς ἡμεῖς ποτέ, ὁ θεὸς αἰεὶ, θαυμαστόν· εἰ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἔτι θαυμασιώτερον.  
 1072b26 ἔχει δὲ ὧδε. καὶ ζωὴ δὲ γε ὑπάρχει· ἢ γὰρ νοῦ ἐνέργεια ζωὴ, ἐκεῖνο δὲ  
 1072b27 ἢ ἐνέργεια· ἐνέργεια δὲ ἢ καθ' αὐτήν ἐκείνου ζωὴ ἀρίστη καὶ αἰδῖος.  
 1072b28 φαμέν δὲ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ζῶον αἰδῖον ἄριστον, ὥστε ζωὴ καὶ αἰὼν συνεχῆς 25  
 1072b30 αἰδῖος ὑπάρχει τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ θεός. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐσία τις αἰδῖος ἔστι  
 1073a4 καὶ ἀκίνητος καὶ κεχωρισμένη τῶν αἰσθητῶν, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων·  
 1073a5 δέδεικται δὲ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος οὐδὲν ἔχειν ἐνδέχεται ταύτην τὴν οὐσίαν ἀλλ' ἂ  
 1073a6 μερῆς καὶ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστι (κινεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον, οὐδὲν δ' ἔχει δύναμιν



Fol. 152<sup>r</sup>

ἄπειρον πεπερασμένον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν μέγεθος ἢ ἄπειρον ἢ πεπερασμένον, πε 1073a9  
 περασμένον μὲν διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι μέγεθος, ἄπειρον δ' ὅτι ὅλως οὐκ 1073a10  
 ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄπειρον μέγεθος· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅτι ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον· πᾶσαι 1073a12  
 γὰρ αἱ ἄλλαι κινήσεις ὕστεραι τῆς κατὰ τόπον· ὁ πότερον δὲ μίαν θετέον τὴν τοιαύτην 1073a14  
 5 οὐσίαν ἢ πλείους, καὶ πόσας, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ μεμνησθαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων 1073a16  
 ἀποφάσεις, ὅτι περὶ πλήθους οὐδὲν εἰρήκασιν ὃ τι καὶ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν. ἡμῖν δ' 1073a22  
 ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ διωρισμένων λεκτέον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν 1073a24  
 ὄντων ἀκίνητον καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, κινοῦν δὲ τὴν πρώτην καὶ αἰδίον 1073a25  
 καὶ μίαν κίνησιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον ἀνάγκη ὑπὸ τινος κινεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ 1073a26  
 10 πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον εἶναι καθ' αὐτό, καὶ τὴν αἰδίον κίνησιν ὑπὸ αἰδίου κι 1073a28  
 νεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν μίαν ὑφ' ενός, ὁρώμεν δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ παντός τὴν ἀπλὴν 1073a29  
 φορὰν, ἣν κινεῖν φαμέν τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἄλλας φορὰς οὕσας τὰς 1073a31  
 τῶν πλανήτων αἰδίου (αἰδίον γὰρ καὶ ἄστατον τὸ κύκλῳ σώμα· δέδεικται δὲ 1073a32  
 ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς περὶ τούτων), ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτων ἐκάστην τῶν φορῶν ὑπ' ἀκινήτου 1073a33  
 15 τε κινεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ αἰδίου οὐσίας. ἢ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄστρον φύσις αἰδίου 1073a34  
 οὐσία τις οὕσα, καὶ τὸ κινοῦν αἰδίον καὶ πρότερον τοῦ κινουμένου, καὶ τὸ πρότερον 1073a36  
 οὐσίας οὐσίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. φανερόν τοίνυν ὅτι τοσαύτας τε οὐσίας ἀναγκαῖον 1073a37  
 εἶναι τὴν τε φύσιν αἰδίου καὶ ἀκινήτους καθ' αὐτάς, καὶ ἄνευ μεγέθους διὰ 1073b1  
 τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν πρότερον. ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν οὐσίαι, καὶ τούτων τις 1073b2  
 20 πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ταῖς φοραῖς τῶν ἄστρον, φανερόν. 1073b3  
 ὅτι δὲ πλείους τῶν φερομένων αἱ φοραί, φανερόν τοις καὶ μετρίως ἡμμένοις· 1073b9  
 (πλείους γὰρ ἕκαστον φέρεται μιᾶς τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρον). "Ὅτι κατὰ Εὐδοξον  
 καὶ Κάλλιππον οἷς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τίθεται· αἱ σφαῖραι ἐν αἷς φέρονται  
 οἱ πλανῆται καὶ αἱ ἀνελίττους αὐτάς· καὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποκαθιστῶσαι τῇ θέσει 1074a3  
 25 τὴν πρώτην σφαῖραν αἰεὶ τοῦ ὑποκάτω τεταγμένου ἄστρου· οὕτως γὰρ μόνως 1074a5  
 ἐνδέχεται τὴν τῶν πλανήτων φορὰν ἅπαντα ποιεῖσθαι. εἰσὶν αἱ πᾶσαι, 1074a13  
 ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ὥστε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἀκινήτους 1074a15  
 καὶ τὰς αἰσθητάς τοσαύτας εὐλογον ὑπολαβεῖν (τὸ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἀφείσθω 1074a17  
 τοῖς ἰσχυροτέροις λέγειν). : ὅτι δὲ εἰς οὐρανός, φανερόν. εἰ γὰρ πλείους 1074a32

Fol. 152<sup>v</sup>

1074a32 οὐρανοὶ ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι, ἔσται μία εἶδει ἢ περὶ ἕκαστον ἀρχή, ἀριθμῶ δὲ πολλάι.  
 1074a33 ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀριθμῶ πολλά, ὕλην ἔχει (εἷς γὰρ λόγος καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς πολλῶν, οἷον ἀνθρώπου,  
 1074a35 Σωκράτης δὲ εἷς)· τὸ δὲ τί ἦν εἶναι οὐκ ἔχει ὕλην τὸ πρῶτον· ἐντελέχεια γάρ.  
 1074a36 ἔν ἄρα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἀριθμῶ τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον ὄν· καὶ τὸ κινούμενον  
 1074a37 ἄρα ἀεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν μόνον· εἷς ἄρα οὐρανὸς μόνος. παραδέδοται δὲ παρά 5  
 1074b1 τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παμπαλαίων ἐν μύθῳ σχήματι καταλελειμμένα τοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι θεοὶ τέ  
 1074b2 εἰσιν οὗτοι καὶ περιέχει τὸ θεῖον τὴν ὅλην φύσιν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ἤδη  
 1074b4 προῖκται πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χρήσιν·  
 1074b5 ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τε γὰρ τούτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁμοίους τισὶ λέγουσιν, καὶ τούτοις  
 1074b7 ἕτερα ἀκόλουθα καὶ παραπλήσια τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὧν εἴ τις χωρίσας αὐτὸ 10  
 1074b8 λάβοι μόνον τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτι θεοὺς ὦντο τὰς πρῶτας οὐσίας εἶναι, θείως ἂν εἰρήσθαι  
 1074b10 νομίσεις κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχει τινὰς ἀπορίας·  
 1074b15 δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι τῶν φαινομένων θεϊότατον, πῶς δ' ἔχων τοιοῦτος ἂν εἴη, ἔχει τινὰς  
 1074b17 δυσκολίας. εἴτε γὰρ μηδὲν νοεῖ, τί ἂν εἴη τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλ' ἔχει ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ὁ κα  
 1074b18 θεύδων· εἴτε νοεῖ, τούτου δ' ἄλλο κύριον, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἢ οὐσία νόησις, 15  
 1074b20 ἀλλὰ δύναιμι, οὐκ ἂν ἢ ἀρίστη οὐσία εἴη· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ νοεῖν τὸ τίμιον αὐτῷ  
 1074b21 ὑπάρχει. ἔτι δὲ εἴτε νοῦς ἢ οὐσία αὐτοῦ εἴτε νόησις ἐστὶ, τί νοεῖ; ἢ γὰρ  
 1074b22 αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἕτερόν τι· καὶ εἰ ἕτερόν τι, ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀεὶ ἢ ἄλλο. πότερον οὖν  
 1074b24 διαφέρει τι ἢ οὐδὲν τὸ νοεῖν τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ τυχόν; ἢ καὶ ἄτοπον τὸ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ  
 1074b25 ἐνίων, ἥτοι τῶν νοουμένων; δῆλον τοίνυν ὅτι τὸ θεϊότατον καὶ τιμιώτατον νοεῖ, καὶ οὐ μετα 20  
 1074b26 βάλλει· εἰς χεῖρον γὰρ ἢ μεταβολή, καὶ κίνησις τις ἤδη τὸ τοιοῦτον. πρῶτον  
 1074b28 μὲν οὖν εἰ μὴ νόησις τίς ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δύναιμι, εὐλογον ἐπίπονον εἶναι τὸ  
 1074b29 συνεχές αὐτῷ τῆς νοήσεως· ἔπειτα δῆλον ὅτι ἄλλο τι ἂν εἴη τὸ τιμιώτερον  
 1074b30 ἢ ὁ νοῦς, τὸ νοούμενον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ ἡ νόησις ὑπάρξει καὶ τὸ χεῖριστον νο  
 1074b32 οὔντι, ὥστε εἰ φευκτὸν τοῦτο (καὶ γὰρ μὴ ὁρᾶν ἔνια κρεῖττον ἢ ὁρᾶν), οὐκ ἂν 25  
 1074b33 εἴη τὸ ἄριστον ἢ νόησις. αὐτὸν ἄρα νοεῖ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νό  
 1074b34 ησις νοήσεως νόησις. φαίνεται δ' ἀεὶ ἄλλου ἢ ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἰσθησις καὶ  
 1074b36 ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ διάνοια, ἑαυτῆς δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ. ἔτι εἰ ἄλλο τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι,  
 1074b37 κατὰ πότερον αὐτῷ τὸ εὖ ὑπάρχει; οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' ὅτι εἶναι νοήσει καὶ νοουμένῳ.

Fol. 154<sup>r</sup>

ἡ ἐπ' ἐνίων ἢ ἐπιστήμη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ποιητικῶν ἄνευ ὕλης ἢ οὐσίας καὶ τὸ 1075a2  
 τί ἦν εἶναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν ὁ λόγος τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἡ νόησις; οὐχ ἑτέρου 1075a3  
 οὖν ὄντος τοῦ νοουμένου καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ὅσα μὴ ὕλην ἔχει, ταυτὸν ἔσται καὶ ἡ νόησις 1075a5  
 τῷ νοουμένῳ μία. ἔτι δὴ λείπεται ἀπορία, εἰ σύνθετον τὸ νοούμενον· μετα 1075a6  
 5 βάλλοι γὰρ ἂν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ ὅλου. ἢ ἀδιαίρετον πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἔχον ὕλην· ὥσπερ 1075a7  
 οὖν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἢ ὁ γε τῶν συνθέτων ἔχει ἐν τινι χρόνῳ (οὐ γὰρ ἔχει 1075a8  
 τὸ εὖ ἐν τῷδὶ ἢ ἐν τῷδί, ἀλλ' ἐν ὅλῳ τινὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ὃν ἄλλο τι), οὕτω δ' ἔχει 1075a10  
 αὕτη αὐτῆς ἢ νόησις τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα; ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ ποτέρως 1075a11  
 ἔχει ἢ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ ἄριστον, πότερον κεχωρισμένον τι καὶ 1075a12  
 10 αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό, ἢ τὴν τάξιν. ἢ ἀμφοτέρως ὥσπερ στράτευμα; καὶ γὰρ ἐν 1075a14  
 τῇ τάξει τὸ εὖ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ μάλλον οὗτος· οὐ γὰρ οὗτος διὰ τὴν τάξιν 1075a15  
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνη διὰ τοῦτόν ἐστι. πάντα δὲ συντέτακται πῶς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως, καὶ 1075a16  
 πλωτὰ καὶ πτηνὰ καὶ φυτὰ· καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει ὥστε μὴ εἶναι θατέρῳ 1075a18  
 πρὸς θάτερον μηδὲν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἅπαντα συντέτακται, 1075a19  
 15 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἡκιστα ἔξεστιν ὅτιοῦν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ 1075a20  
 πάντα ἢ τὰ πλείστα τέτακται, τοῖς δ' ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις μικρὸν 1075a21  
 τὸ εἰς τὸ κοινόν, τὸ δὲ πολὺ ὃ τι ἔτυχε· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἐκάστου ἀρχὴ ἢ φύσις αὐτῶν 1075a23  
 ἐστί. λέγω δ' οἶον εἶς γε τὸ διακριθῆναι ἀνάγκη ἅπασιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα οὕτως 1075a24  
 ἔστιν ὧν κοινωνεῖ ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ ὅλον. ὅσα δὲ ἀδύνατα συμβαίνει ἢ ἄτοπα 1075a26  
 20 τοῖς ἄλλως λέγουσιν, καὶ ποῖα οἱ χαριεστέρως λέγοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ ποίων ἐλάχισται ἀπορίαι, 1075a27  
 δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. πάντες γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίων ποιοῦσι πάντα. οὔτε δὲ τὸ πάντα 1075a28  
 οὔτε τὸ ἐξ ἐναντίων ὀρθῶς, οὔτ' ἐν ὅσοις τὰ ἐναντία ὑπάρχει, πῶς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων 1075a30  
 ἔσται, οὐ λέγουσιν· ἀπαθὴ γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία ὑπ' ἀλλήλων. ἡμῖν δὲ λύεται 1075a31  
 τοῦτο εὐλόγως τῷ τρίτον τι εἶναι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἐναντίων ὕλην ποιοῦσιν, 1075a32  
 25 ὥσπερ οἱ τὸ ἄνισον τῷ ἴσῳ ἢ τῷ ἐνὶ τὰ πολλὰ. λύεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸν 1075a34  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἢ γὰρ ὕλη ἡμῖν ἐστὶν οὐδενὶ ἐναντίον· ἔτι πάντα τοῦ φαύλου 1075a35  
 μεθέξει ἔξω τοῦ ενός· τὸ γὰρ κακὸν αὐτὸ θάτερον τῶν στοιχείων. οἱ δὲ 1075a36  
 ἄλλοι οὐδὲ ἀρχὰς τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν· καίτοι ἐν ἅπασιν μάλιστα τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχή. 1075a37  
 οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ὅτι ἀρχή, ἀλλὰ πῶς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχή οὐ λέγουσιν, 1075b1

Fol. 154<sup>v</sup>

1075b1 πότερον ὡς τέλος ἢ ὡς κινήσαν ἢ ὡς εἶδος. ἀτόπως δὲ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς·  
 1075b2 τὴν γὰρ φιλίαν ποιεῖ τὸ ἀγαθόν, αὕτη δ' ἀρχὴ καὶ ὡς κινουσα (συνάγει γάρ)  
 1075b3 καὶ ὕλη· μόριον γὰρ τοῦ μίγματος. εἰ δὴ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ συμβέβηκεν ὡς ὕλη καὶ ἀρχὴ  
 1075b5 εἶναι καὶ ὡς κινοῦν τι, ἀλλὰ τὸ γ' εἶναι οὐ τὸ αὐτό. κατὰ πότερον οὖν φιλία;  
 1075b6 ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄφθαρτον εἶναι τὸ νεῖκος· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν αὐτὸ ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ φύσις. Ἄναξα 5  
 1075b8 γόρας δὲ ὡς κινοῦν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχήν· ὁ γὰρ νοὺς κινεῖ. ἀλλὰ κινεῖ ἕνεκά τινος,  
 1075b9 ὥστε ἕτερον, πλὴν ὡς ἡμεῖς λέγομεν· ἢ γὰρ ἰατρικὴ ἐστὶ πως ὑγίεια. ἄτοπον  
 1075b10 δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον μὴ ποιῆσαι τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ τῷ νῷ. πάντες δ' οἱ τάναντία  
 1075b12 λέγοντες οὐ χρῶνται τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐὰν μὴ ῥαθυμῇσι τις· καὶ διὰ τί τὰ μὲν φθαρτὰ  
 1075b13 τὰ δ' ἀφθαρτα, οὐθεὶς λέγει· πάντες γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ποιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχῶν. 10  
 1075b14 ἔτι οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ποιοῦσι τὰ ὄντα· οἱ δ' ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο ἀναγκασθῶσιν, ἐν  
 1075b16 πάντα ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι διὰ τί ἔσται γένεσις καὶ τί αἴτιον γενέσεως, οὐδεὶς λέγει.  
 1075b17 καὶ τοῖς δύο ἀρχὰς ποιοῦσιν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν κυριωτέραν ἀνάγκη εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς  
 1075b18 τὰ εἶδη, ὅτι ἄλλη ἀρχὴ κυριωτέρα· διὰ τί γὰρ μετέσχευεν ἢ μετέχει; καὶ τοῖς  
 1075b20 μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνάγκη τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ τιμιωτάτῃ ἐπιστήμῃ εἶναι τι ἐναντίον, ἡμῖν δ' οὐ. 15  
 1075b22 οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τῷ πρώτῳ οὐδέν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία ὕλην ἔχει, καὶ  
 1075b23 δυνάμει ταῦτα ἔστιν· ἢ δὲ ἐναντία ἄγνοια εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον, τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ  
 1075b24 ἐναντίον οὐδέν. ἔτι εἰ μὴ ἔσται παρὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἄλλα, οὐκ ἔσται ἀρχὴ καὶ  
 1075b25 τάξις καὶ γένεσις καὶ τὰ οὐράνια, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχή, ὥσπερ τοῖς  
 1075b26 θεολόγοις καὶ τοῖς φυσικοῖς πᾶσιν. εἰ δὲ ἔσται τὰ εἶδη ἀριθμοί, οὐδενὸς αἵτια· 20  
 1075b28 εἰ δὲ μή, οὐτι κινήσεως γε. ἔτι πῶς ἔσται ἐξ ἀμεγεθῶν μέγεθος καὶ  
 1075b29 συνεχές; ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς οὐ ποιήσῃ συνεχές, οὔτε ὡς κινοῦν οὔτε ὡς εἶδος.  
 1075b30 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδέν γ' ἔσται τῶν ἐναντίων ὅπερ καὶ ποιητικὸν καὶ κινητικόν· ἐνδὲ  
 1075b32 χοιτο γὰρ μὴ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὕστερόν γε τὸ ποιεῖν δυνάμει. οὐκ ἄρα  
 1075b33 αἰδία τὰ ὄντα. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀναιρετέον ἄρα τούτων τι. τοῦτο δ' εἴρηται ὡς. 25  
 1075b34 ἔτι τίνι οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἐν ἡ ἢ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὅλως τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα,  
 1075b36 οὐδέν λέγει οὐδεὶς· οὐδὲ ἐνδέχεται εἰπεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ὡς ἡμεῖς εἴπη, ὡς τὸ  
 1075b37 κινοῦν ποιεῖ. οἱ δὲ λέγοντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πρῶτον τὸν μαθηματικὸν καὶ οὕτως  
 1075b38 αἰεὶ ἄλλην ἐχομένην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐκάστης ἄλλας, ἐπεισοδιώδη τὴν

*Fol. 155<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1-3*

τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν ποιοῦσιν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ ἑτέρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ συμβάλλεται οὔσα ἢ μὴ οὔσα) 1076a2  
καὶ ἀρχὰς πολλὰς· τὰ δὲ ὄντα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεύεσθαι κακῶς. “οὐκ ἀγαθὸν 1076a4  
πολυκοιρανίῃ· εἰς κοίρανος”.

*Fol. 155<sup>v</sup>, ll. 14-18*

ἐν τῷ Δ'

“Ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἡμεῖς ἃ λέγουσι τῶν μαθηματικῶν τινὲς ἐννοίας χάριν λέγομεν, ὅπως ἢ τι 1073b12  
τῇ διανοίᾳ πλῆθος ὠρισμένον λαβεῖν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὸ μὲν ζητοῦντας αὐτοὺς δεῖ 1073b14  
τὰ δὲ πυνθανομένους παρὰ τῶν ζητούντων, ἃν τι φαίνεται παρὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα 1073b15  
τοῖς ταῦτα πραγματευομένοις, φιλεῖν μὲν ἀμφοτέρους, πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις. 1073b17



## THE AFFILIATIONS OF THE HITHERTO KNOWN CODICES

Forty-two Greek manuscripts of this text have been known until now.<sup>1</sup> The direct tradition is bipartite, most of the codices belonging to the  $\alpha$  family. This branch comprises the MSS Mosqu. 6 (450) (**b**), Laur. 87. 18 (**B<sup>b</sup>**), Paris. 1861 (**c**), Laur. 87. 26 (**C<sup>b</sup>**), Salm. M 54 (**d**), Paris. 1853 (**E**), Marc. 211 (**E<sup>b</sup>**), Escor. Y III 18 (**E<sup>s</sup>**), Marc. 206 (**f**), Marc. 214 (**H<sup>a</sup>**), Paris. Coisl. 161 (**I<sup>b</sup>**), Matr. 4563 (N 26) (**K<sup>c</sup>**), Vind. Phil. 100 (**J**), Vind. Phil. 64 (**J<sup>a</sup>**), Vind. Phil. 66 (**J<sup>b</sup>**), Laur. 87. 19 (**L<sup>c</sup>**), Ambr. L 117 sup. (**M<sup>c</sup>**), Neap. III D 35 (**N<sup>d</sup>**), Neap. III D 36 (**N<sup>g</sup>**), Oxon. C.C.C. 110 (**O<sup>c</sup>**), Laur. 71. 16 (**P**), Paris. Suppl. 642 (**P<sup>b</sup>**), Paris. 1848 (**Q<sup>c</sup>**), Laur. 81. 1 (**S**), Vat. Pal. 164 (**s**), Vat. 256 (**T**), Tolet. 94–12 (**t**), Vat. Reg. 124 (**u**), Paris. Suppl. 204 (**U<sup>c</sup>**), Vat. Urb. 48 (**V<sup>a</sup>**), Vat. 257 (**V<sup>c</sup>**), Vat. 255 (**V<sup>d</sup>**) and Paris. Suppl. 332 (**Y<sup>c</sup>**) throughout book  $\Lambda$  and in the section 1073a1–1076a4 also the manuscripts Laur. 87. 12 (**A<sup>b</sup>**), Brux. 11270–75 (**B**), Paris. 1850 (**D**), Marc. 205 (coll. 605) (**D<sup>m</sup>**), Marc. 200 (coll. 327) (**Q**) and Taur. C III 5 (**Z**).<sup>2</sup>

Since this notoriously difficult text has been intensively studied in certain periods of its transmission, it is not surprising that contamination is present in the system. However, it is not so dominant as to rule out the possibility of constructing a stemma; this will become clear in the following. For reasons of convenience all the issues relating to contamination will be discussed at a later stage.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It has been claimed in the literature that apart from the MSS mentioned *infra* the codices Oxon. N. C. 230 and Paris. 2027 transmit the whole of the *Metaphysics*. However, it must be noted that the text of the former breaks off at *Metaph.* K 6 1063b14 on fol. 138<sup>v</sup>, whilst that of the latter abruptly ends at  $\Delta$  14, 1020b16 on f. 111<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as the *Aristoteles-Archiv* in Berlin has undertaken to produce a detailed codicological description of all the extant Greek Aristotelian MSS (cf. P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, J. Wiesner, *Aristoteles Graecus: Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles* I, Berlin 1976, V–VI) our focus will be upon stemmatic rather than upon codicological aspects.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, pp. 40–69.

Among the MSS listed above the following ones are independent:<sup>4</sup> A<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> and V<sup>d</sup>.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE  
INDEPENDENT CODICES OF THE α FAMILY

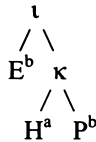
i. Among the manuscripts of the α family whose exemplars do not survive, the codices Paris. Suppl. 642 (P<sup>b</sup>), Marc. 214 (H<sup>a</sup>) and Marc. 211 (E<sup>b</sup>) show numerous agreements in error, e.g.:

- 1070 a 19 om. ἄλλα τούτων E<sup>b</sup> ante corr., H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1070 a 23 ὑγεία E J : ὑγεία E<sup>b</sup> ante corr. ut vid., H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> T  
 1070 a 29 ὑγείας E J : ὑγείας E<sup>b</sup> ante corr. ut vid., H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1073 a 19 οἱ λέγοντες ιδέας E : om. E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1075 b 33 ἄρα alt. E J : om. ἄρα alt. E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> initio, P<sup>b</sup>  
 1070 b 17 ἄλλων δ' ἄλλα E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> : ἄλλα δ' ἄλλων E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>

On the other hand H<sup>a</sup> and P<sup>b</sup> quite frequently agree in error against E<sup>b</sup>, e.g.:

- 1070 b 7 οἶον E<sup>b</sup> : om. H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 a 3 πρότερον A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> initio : πρότερον εἶναι H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 a 9 δὴ E J E<sup>b</sup> : δεῖ H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 b 19 ἀρίστου E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> corr.: ἀρίστου H<sup>a</sup> initio, P<sup>b</sup>  
 1073 a 31 τὰς E<sup>b</sup> : om. H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1074 a 30 τι E<sup>b</sup> : om. τι H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1075 b 21 ἐπιστήμη E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> : ἐπιστήμη μὴ H<sup>a</sup> initio, P<sup>b</sup>  
 1071 b 21 ταύτας δεῖ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι ἄνευ ὕλης E<sup>b</sup> : τὰςδε τὰς οὐσίας ἄνευ εἶναι δεῖ ὕλης H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>

This shows that the relationships within the group E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> can be represented stemmatically as follows:



<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 28–32 the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* of the α family.



ii. The omission of  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\nu$  in 1072 a 24, which occurs in the independent manuscripts  $I^b$  and  $P^b$  as well as initially in  $H^a$  and  $E^b$ , suggests that the lost exemplar  $\iota$  and  $I^b$  derive from a common source ( $\theta$ ). Several other passages, e.g.

- 1069 a 36 om.  $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$   $E^b$  ante correctionem,  $H^a$  ante corr.,  $I^b$   $P^b$   
 1070 b 13  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}$   $E^s$  :  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $E^b$  ante corr. ut vid.,  $H^a$  ut vid.,  $I^b$   $P^b$   
 1070 b 28  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $E^s$  :  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$   $E^b$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $P^b$   
 1072 a 23  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau$  'E  $E^s$  J  $E^b$  correctus:  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\iota$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $P^b$   
 1072 a 23  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\nu$   $E$   $E^{b2}$   $E^s$  J: om.  $E^{b1}$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $P^b$   
 1072 b 15  $\acute{\eta}$   $E$   $E^s$  J: om.  $\acute{\eta}$   $E^b$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $P^b$   
 1074 a 3  $\tau\acute{\eta}$   $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$   $E^s$ : om.  $E^{b1}$   $H^a$   $P^b$   $I^b$  ante corr.  
 1074 b 17  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota$   $E$  M :  $\mu\acute{\eta}\delta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota$   $A^b$  J  $E^s$  :  $\mu\acute{\eta}\delta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota$   $\tau\iota$   $E^{b1}$   $H^a$   $P^b$ :  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota$   $\tau\iota$   
 $I^b$  correctus  
 1075 b 33  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  alt.  $E^s$   $V^d$  : om.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  alt.  $E^{b1}$   $I^b$   $P^b$   $H^a$  initio

confirm this supposition.

iii. In 1074 a 13 most descendants of  $\theta$  agree with  $E^s$  against the other representatives of the  $\alpha$  family:

- 1074 a 13  $\sigma\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$   $E$   $I^b$  J  $J^b$   $L^c$  :  $\sigma\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$   $\tau\epsilon$   $E^s$   $H^a$   $P^b$ :  $\sigma\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $E^b$ :  $\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $V^d$

This makes it at least plausible to assume that the members of the group  $E^b$   $E^s$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $P^b$  descend from a lost exemplar ( $\zeta$ ).

iv. We should now focus on the two closely related manuscripts  $J^b$  and  $L^c$ , trying to establish how their common ancestor ( $\eta$ ) fits into the  $\alpha$  family; *errores coniunctivi* of these two codices are e.g.:

- 1070 a 9  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $E^s$ :  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $J^b$   $L^c$   
 1070 a 32  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  J: om.  $J^b$   $L^c$  :  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$   $E^s$   $E^b$   $H^a$   $I^b$  M  $P^b$   $V^d$  E correctus  
 1070 b 20  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$  M:  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$   $J^b$   $L^c$  :  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$   $E^s$   
 1072 b 29  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$  E:  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $J^b$   $L^c$   
 1073 b 2  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  E:  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$   $J^b$   $L^c$   
 1073 b 24  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  E:  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$   $J^b$   $L^c$   
 1073 b 36–37  $\phi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  E:  $\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$   $J^b$   $L^c$

In several places  $\eta$  agrees with  $\zeta$  against E J and  $V^d$ , whereas in 1071 a 7 it agrees with  $P^b$   $E^b$   $E^s$   $I^b$  ante corr. against E J  $V^d$   $H^a$   $I^b$  post corr. and others:

- 1069 b 27  $\acute{\eta}$  E J  $V^d$  :  $\acute{\eta}$  om.  $E^{b1}$   $E^s$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $J^b$   $L^c$   $P^b$   
 1069 b 36  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  E J  $V^d$   $I^b$  post corr.:  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  om.  $E^b$   $E^s$   $H^a$   $J^b$   $L^c$   $P^b$   $I^b$  ante corr.  
 1072 a 23  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  E J  $V^d$   $E^b$  correctus:  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$   $E^s$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $J^b$   $L^c$   $P^b$   
 1072 a 23  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  C E J  $V^d$   $E^b$  corr.:  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  om.  $E^s$   $H^a$   $I^b$   $J^b$   $L^c$   $P^b$   
 1071 a 7  $\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $A^b$  E  $H^a$  J  $V^d$   $I^b$  corr.:  $\acute{\eta}$   $\nu\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$   $E^{b1}$   $E^s$   $P^b$   $I^b$  initio ut vid.

Numerous separative errors, e.g.:

- 1070 a1 δ E E<sup>b2</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> H<sup>a</sup> corr.: οὐ E<sup>s</sup> J P<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> initio  
 1073 b23 ἐκάστου E<sup>b2</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup>: ἑκάστος E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1074 a13 σφαίραι E I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>: σφαίρεται E<sup>b</sup>: σφαίραι τε E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>: φοραὶ V<sup>d</sup>  
 1074 a36 ἐν J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup>: ἐν μὲν E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> E<sup>s</sup> P<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup>  
 1075 b3 ὥς alt. A<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> I<sup>b</sup> supra lin.: ὥς alt. om. E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> initio  
 1070 a31 ἔστι E<sup>s</sup> ἔστιν J: om. J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>  
 1070 a32 δ' E<sup>s</sup>: om. J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>  
 1070 b15 ἡ A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup>: καὶ J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>  
 1072 a2 κινούν E<sup>s</sup>: κινούν νοούν J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>  
 1072 a5 μαρτυρεῖ E<sup>s</sup>: συμμαρτυρεῖ J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>

rule out the possibility that η is a descendant of ζ or vice versa.

v. The common readings of V<sup>d</sup> and A<sup>b</sup> in

- 1073 a1 οἶον E: οἶόν τε A<sup>b</sup> J V<sup>d</sup> initio  
 1074 a12 τε A<sup>b</sup> E J V<sup>d</sup>: om. E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1075 a6 μεταβάλλοι C M: μεταβάλλοι V<sup>d</sup> A<sup>b</sup> corr.  
 1075 a33 δὲ A<sup>b</sup> E J V<sup>d</sup>: δὴ E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup>

show that these two manuscripts are closely related to one another from 1073 a1 onwards.

However, the separative error

- 1070 a5 οὐσίαι A<sup>b</sup> E J: οὐσία E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

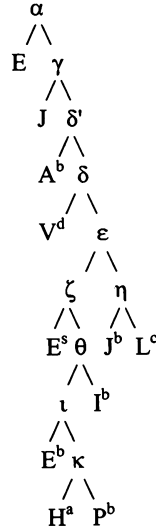
which links the manuscript V<sup>d</sup> to the descendants of ε against A<sup>b</sup> conveys the idea that the common source of V<sup>d</sup> and ε, the deperditus δ, is derived from the exemplar of A<sup>b</sup>, i.e. from δ'.

vi. Since in 1073 a1 A<sup>b</sup> J and V<sup>d</sup> agree in error against E, whereas in 1075 b19 E and J share the reading μετίσχει against A<sup>b</sup> and V<sup>d</sup>

- 1073 a1 οἶον E: οἶόν τε A<sup>b</sup> J V<sup>d</sup> initio  
 1075 b19 μετίσχει E E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J: μετέσχευ A<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

it seems that J and δ' can be referred back to a lost exemplar (γ) which derived from the hyparchetype α independently of E.

Thus the relationships between the independent manuscripts A<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> in the section 1073 a1–1076 a4 may be serviceably represented as follows:



*cod. Laur. 87, 18 (B<sup>b</sup>)*

The manuscript B<sup>b</sup> cannot be regarded as an apograph of any currently known codex. In the relevant literature it has been described as deriving mainly from two extant witnesses, viz. E and E<sup>s</sup>, and as incorporating some readings of the β family.<sup>5</sup> The evidence offered by book Λ confirms by and large this view, cf. e.g.

- 1069a 36 οἱ δὲ τὰ μαθηματικὰ om. B<sup>b</sup> E J
- 1070a 13 τι om. B<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>s</sup>
- 1070a 36 αἱ οὐσίαι I<sup>b</sup> T E corr. (αἱ supra lin.): οὐσίαι B<sup>b</sup> E initio, E<sup>s</sup>
- 1070b 6 τῷ alt. vulg.: τὸ B<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup>
- 1072b 14 δ' om. B<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>
- 1072b 30 καὶ B<sup>b</sup> A<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup>: om. E E<sup>s</sup>
- 1073b 31 τοὺς alt. vulg.: τοῦ B<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b2</sup>
- 1074a 27 αὐτῆς ἄν ἔνεκα: αὐτῆς ἔνεκα B<sup>b</sup> E

*cod. Vat. 256 (T)*

As has been pointed out around forty years ago,<sup>6</sup> this codex also derives from more than one exemplar, amalgamating readings occurring e.g. in E, J and E<sup>b</sup>:

<sup>5</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Metaphysik', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, 18–19.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, 21.

1072 b 24 ἄριστον] ἄόριστον E T  
 1070 b 6 τῷ alt.] τὸ J T  
 1075 b 12 ῥυθμίση] ῥαθυμήση E γρ, E<sup>b2</sup> (-σει), T

Since there are repeated agreements also with other witnesses such as A<sup>b</sup> or the *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'*,<sup>7</sup> it cannot be ruled out that the sources of T are more numerous.

#### APOGRAPHA BELONGING TO THE α TRADITION

##### *Descendants of cod. Laur. 87, 18 (B<sup>b</sup>)*

i. The codices S and C<sup>b</sup> are apographa of B<sup>b</sup>. Significant agreements in error are e.g.:

1069 b 22 ἀναξιμάνδρου E J : ἀναμαξιμάνδρου B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> S  
 1072 b 3 ἐρώμενον E J : ἐρωμένον B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> S  
 1072 b 6 καὶ E J : om. B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> S  
 1072 b 7 ἀκίνητον J E alia manu corr.: κίνητον B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> S E initio  
 1072 b 12 οὖ E J : om. B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> S  
 1072 b 14 ἄρα E J : om. B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> S  
 1073 a 19 ὥς E J : om. B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> S

Separative errors of S are for instance:

1072 b 27–28 ἐνέργεια tert. ... καὶ ἀΐδιος B<sup>b</sup> E J : om. S  
 1072 b 5 φορὰ B<sup>b</sup> E : φθορὰ S  
 1073 b 28 τοὺς πέλους E : τοὺς πολλοὺς B<sup>b</sup> : τὰ πολλὰ S

*errores separativi* of C<sup>b</sup> are e.g.:

1072 b 35 τὸ alt. B<sup>b</sup> J S : om. C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>  
 1073 a 34 αὐτήν E : αὐτοῦ C<sup>b</sup>  
 1075 b 5 γ' B<sup>b</sup> : δ' C<sup>b</sup>

ii. From S derived the manuscripts s and t; conjunctive errors are e.g.:

1069 a 29 οἶον B<sup>b</sup> E : om. S s t  
 1069 b 21 ἡ ὁμοῦ B<sup>b</sup> E : in fenestra om. S s t  
 1069 b 31 ἡ B<sup>b</sup> E : om. S s t  
 1072 b 8 φορὰ B<sup>b</sup> E : φθορὰ S s t  
 1072 b 29 ἄριστον B<sup>b</sup> E : ἄόριστον S s t  
 1073 a 26–28 καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ... ἀΐδιου κινεῖσθαι B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup> : om. S s t  
 1075 a 29 ὑπάρχει B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup> : ὑπάρχειν S s t  
 1075 b 15 ὄντα B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup> : ἴνα S s t

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Aristoteles Latinus* XXV 2, lxv.

Separative errors of s are e.g.:

1072 b 8 ἄλλως S t : ἄλως s  
 1073 b 17 οὔν S t : om. s  
 1073 b 25 ἀπλανῶν S t : ἀπανῶν s

The manuscript t disagrees with S for instance at:

1073 a 23 λεκτέον S s : λεκτέων t  
 1073 b 18 ἐτίθετ ' C S s : ἐντίθετ ' t  
 1073 b 31 πόλους A<sup>b</sup> S s : πόλλους t  
 1074 a 4–5 μόνως S s : μόνων t

iii. The MS N<sup>g</sup> descends from C<sup>b</sup>; it agrees in error with C<sup>b</sup> for instance in:

1069 b 6 ὑπεῖναι E J : ἀπεῖναι C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>  
 1072 a 27 τοῦτων B<sup>b</sup> S : τοῦτον C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>  
 1072 b 35 τὸ alt. B<sup>b</sup> J S : om. C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>  
 1075 b 30 ὡς alt. B<sup>b</sup> S s : ὡς τὸ C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>  
 1076 a 1 ἐκάστης B<sup>b</sup> S : ἐκάστου C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>

In several places N<sup>g</sup> exhibits additional mistakes, e.g.:

1069 b 10 ἀπλῆ C<sup>b</sup> S : ἀπλῶς N<sup>g</sup>  
 1069 b 24–25 μεταβάλλει C<sup>b</sup> S : μεταβάλλειν N<sup>g</sup>  
 1075 a 13 ἀμφοτέρως B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> : ἀμφοτέρα N<sup>g</sup>  
 1075 b 10 ἡ pr. C<sup>b</sup> : om. ἡ pr. N<sup>g</sup>

### *Descendants of cod. Marc. 214 (H<sup>a</sup>)*

i. The manuscript H<sup>a</sup>, which dates according to Professor Harlfinger from the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>8</sup> is the common exemplar of cod. Marc. 206 (f) and cod. Matr. 4563 (N 26) (K<sup>c</sup>), with which it agrees in error for instance at:

1069 a 22 ἀπλῶς ταῦτα E : ταῦτα ἀπλῶς f H<sup>a</sup> K<sup>c</sup>  
 1069 b 27 ἡ E J : om. ἡ f H<sup>a</sup> K<sup>c</sup>  
 1073 a 31 τὰς E E<sup>b</sup> J : om. τὰς f H<sup>a</sup> K<sup>c</sup>  
 1075 b 25 γένεσις E f post corr.: σύνεσις H<sup>a</sup> K<sup>c</sup> f initio

Separative errors of f occur e.g. in:

1073 b 8 οὔν E : om. f O<sup>c</sup> P  
 1073 b 22 ὃν alt. H<sup>a</sup> K<sup>c</sup> : ὦν f O<sup>c</sup> P

<sup>8</sup> See D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 10. (E. Mioni alleged that cod. Marc. Gr. 214, coll. 479 dates from the end of the twelfth century; cf. Elpidius Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti*, vol. I: Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 1–299, Rome 1981, 328.)

*errores separativi* of **K<sup>c</sup>** are found for example in:

1072 b 5–6 ὥστ' ... ἔχειν f H<sup>a</sup> : om. K<sup>c</sup>  
 1073 a 17 καὶ f H<sup>a</sup> ante correctionem ut vid. : om. K<sup>c</sup>  
 1075 b 34 τούτων τι H<sup>a</sup> f : τί τούτων K<sup>c</sup>

ii. From the manuscript f derive **P** (Laur. 71, 16) and **O<sup>c</sup>** (Oxon. C.C.C. 110).  
 Conjunctive errors can be found e.g. in

1073 b 8 οὖν H<sup>a</sup> : om. f O<sup>c</sup> P

On the other hand, *errores separativi* of **P** occur in:

1073 a 26 τὸ alt. f : τῶ P  
 1073 a 28 ὅφ' f : ἄφ' P  
 1073 b 31 τῆς f O<sup>c</sup> : om. P  
 1075 a 23 φύσις f O<sup>c</sup> : φήσις P  
 1075 b 4 μίγματος f O<sup>c</sup> : μιμάγματος P

**O<sup>c</sup>** exhibits separative errors e.g. in:

1072 b 14 διαγωγῇ f : διαγογή O<sup>c</sup>  
 1072 b 23 ὁ f : om. O<sup>c</sup>  
 1073 b 9 γὰρ f : om. O<sup>c</sup>

*Cod. Mosquensis Synodalis 450 (b), apograph of Paris. Coisl. 161 (I<sup>b</sup>)*

The manuscript **I<sup>b</sup>**, copied according to Professor Dieter Harlfinger in the sixth decade of the fourteenth century<sup>9</sup> and according to R. Devreesse in the fourteenth or fifteenth century,<sup>10</sup> agrees repeatedly in error with cod. Mosquensis Synodalis 450 (**b**), e.g.:

1072 b 3 ἔστι pr. E : ἐστὶ κινητὸν b I<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 b 5 πρώτη καὶ J E ante corr.: πρώτη εἰ καὶ b I<sup>b</sup> E corr. manu poster.  
 1074 a 13 ἔσονται E : om. b I<sup>b</sup>  
 1075 b 8 ὁ γὰρ νοῦς κινεῖ E : om. b I<sup>b</sup>

The latter exhibits separative errors, omitting for instance the second καὶ in 1072 a 32 (καὶ alt. is not missing in **I<sup>b</sup>**).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 10.

<sup>10</sup> See Robert Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, vol. II: Le Fonds Coislín, Paris 1945, 145.

*Descendants of cod. Vat. 255 (V<sup>d</sup>)*

The cod. Vat. 255 (formerly 1069), which has been assigned to the fourteenth century,<sup>11</sup> is the exemplar of J<sup>a</sup> (cod. Vind. Phil. 64), with which it agrees in error, e.g. at:

1072 b 32 τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον E : τὸ ἄριστον καὶ κάλλιστον J<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

1072 b 35 προτέρων E : πρώτων J<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

1073 a 6 ἔχειν ἐνδέχεται E : ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν J<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

J<sup>a</sup> is marred by several peculiar errors, for instance:

1073 b 13–14 ζητούντας E V<sup>d</sup> : ζηλοῦντας c d J<sup>a</sup> M<sup>e</sup> N<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>e</sup> u U<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup>

Five apographa of J<sup>a</sup> survive: Salm. M 54 (d), Ambr. L 117 sup. (M<sup>e</sup>), Neap. III D 35 (N<sup>d</sup>), Vat. 257 (V<sup>e</sup>) and Paris. Suppl. 332 (Y<sup>c</sup>).<sup>12</sup>

Apart from this it should be pointed out that the common exemplar of the manuscripts Paris. Suppl. 204 (U<sup>c</sup>) and Paris. 1848 (Q<sup>c</sup>) also derived from J<sup>a</sup>, with which it shared several readings, e.g.:

1073 a 11 ἀναλλοίωτον A<sup>b</sup> E : ἀναλοίωτον c J<sup>a</sup> Q<sup>c</sup> U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> Y<sup>c</sup>

1073 a 19 ἰδέας E V<sup>d</sup> : τάς ἰδέας c d J<sup>a</sup> M<sup>e</sup> N<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>c</sup> u U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup>

1074 a 12 προστιθείη A<sup>b</sup> : προσθείη c d J<sup>a</sup> M<sup>e</sup> N<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>c</sup> U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> u correctus

The cod. Parisinus 1861 (c) descends from U<sup>c</sup>; *errores coniunctivi* are e.g.:

1069 a 21 εἶτα τὸ alt. A<sup>b</sup>: ἦ J<sup>a</sup> : ἦ τὸ c M U<sup>c</sup>

1069 b 3 αἰσθητὴ E : αἰσθητοῦ c U<sup>c</sup>

1072 a 21 κίνησιν E J<sup>a</sup> : κίνησις c U<sup>c</sup>

1072 b 8 ἐνέργεια δν E : om. c U<sup>c</sup>

Worth mentioning are the following *errores separativi*:

1072 a 27 ἐπιθυμητόν E J<sup>a</sup> U<sup>c</sup> corr.: ἐπιθυμητικὸν U<sup>c</sup> initio ut vid.: ἐπιθυμητὰ c

1073 a 8–9 ἐπεὶ ... πεπερασμένον pr. E U<sup>c</sup> : om. c

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Iohannes Mercati, Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. I, Rome 1923, 333 and D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> To list and discuss here characteristic readings of these five second-generation apographa would ultimately be of little benefit.

*The editio princeps and manuscripts  
deriving from early printed books*

As Professor Martin Sicherl has shown, the manuscript Q<sup>c</sup> has been used for the typesetting of the old *Aldina*.<sup>13</sup>

Codex Vat. Reg. 124 (u) is an apograph of the *editio princeps*, as can be seen e.g. from the agreements in error:

1069 b 34 καὶ εἶδος E : καὶ ἐξ οὗ καὶ u a  
1072 b 32 τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον E : τὸ ἄριστον μὴ κάλλιστον u a

The following *errores separativi* point in the same direction:

1074 a 6 σφαίραις E a : σφαίρας u  
1075 b 31 ὅπερ E a : ὥσπερ u  
1075 b 37 τὸν pr. E a : τὸ u

A further manuscript copied from a printed edition is the Vaticanus Urb. 48 (V<sup>a</sup>), which exhibits readings also found in the text of Isaac Casaubonus (C), published at Lyons in 1590 by Iacobus Bubonius:<sup>14</sup>

1072 a 27 τούτων Q<sup>c</sup> a : τούτων δὲ V<sup>a</sup> C  
1073 a 37 τε pr. Q<sup>c</sup> a : om. V<sup>a</sup> C  
1073 b 11 μὲν E : μὲν καὶ V<sup>a</sup> C

#### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT CODICES OF THE β FAMILY

In book A three main representatives of the β family were up to now known, viz. codd. Laur. 87. 12 (A<sup>b</sup>),<sup>15</sup> Ambr. F 113 sup. (M)<sup>16</sup> and Taur. B VII 23 (C).<sup>17</sup> The latter two have hitherto remained uncollated and neglected by editors.

<sup>13</sup> See Martin Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius: Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund*, Paderborn—Munich 1997, 48–53.

<sup>14</sup> For the sake of clarity it should be pointed out, however, that the text found in this codex is not identical with the one established by Isaac Casaubonus.

<sup>15</sup> Fols. 460<sup>v</sup>–485<sup>r</sup>, dating from the twelfth century. Cf. P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, J. Wiesner, *Aristoteles Graecus: Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles* vol. I, Berlin 1976, 302–304.

<sup>16</sup> Fols. 189<sup>v</sup>–202<sup>r</sup>. This damaged manuscript dates according to Professor Dieter Harlfinger's survey to the fifteenth century. In it one can still decipher fairly extensive parts of Proclus' Στοιχείωσις θεολογική. E. R. Dodds thought that this witness was copied in the sixteenth century and unduly discarded it; cf. Proclus Diadochus, *Institutio Theologica*, ed. E. R. Dodds, Oxford 1963, repr. 1964, xli.

<sup>17</sup> Fols. 82<sup>r</sup>–92<sup>v</sup>.



As has been pointed out in the literature, A<sup>b</sup> ceases to represent the β tradition from οἶον in 1073 a1 onwards;<sup>18</sup> in the twelfth book of the *Metaphysics* this can be noticed for instance in the following passage:

1073 b 4 φιλοσοφία C M : φιλοσοφίας A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> T V<sup>d</sup>

*Characteristic readings of the β family*

In the section 1069 a18–1073 a1 A<sup>b</sup>, M, C (and at least some of their descendants) are repeatedly in agreement against most of the other or even all the other independent manuscripts:

1070 a18 ὁ πλάτων A<sup>b</sup> B C D D<sup>m</sup> M Z J<sup>b</sup> mg.: πλάτων E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>  
 1070 b20 χρώματι E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>: χρώμασι A<sup>b</sup> M C  
 1072 a19 τε A<sup>b</sup> B C D D<sup>m</sup> J<sup>c</sup> M Q Z: τ ' E<sup>s</sup> E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>  
 1072 b15 οἷα A<sup>b</sup> B C D D<sup>m</sup> J<sup>c</sup> M Q Z: οἷα τε E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> C mg.

Worth mentioning here are also the passages:

1070 a8 ἐαυτῶ A<sup>b</sup> C M : αὐτῶ E<sup>s</sup> J : αὐτῶ I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> E<sup>b</sup> ut vid.  
 1072 a4 δ ' alt. E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> H<sup>a</sup> ut vid.: δέ A<sup>b</sup> C M: δ ' ἡ L<sup>c</sup> J<sup>b</sup> mg.  
 1072 b23 ὥστ ' A<sup>b</sup> B C D<sup>m</sup> J<sup>c</sup> M N<sup>s</sup> Q: ὥστε E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

Apart from an emended apograph of V<sup>d</sup>, viz. J<sup>a</sup> correctus (and its descendants d, M<sup>c</sup>, N<sup>d</sup>, Q<sup>c</sup>, u, U<sup>c</sup>, V<sup>c</sup> and Y<sup>c</sup>), only A<sup>b</sup>, C, M and some other representatives of the β family transmit in 1072 b3 the reading δῆ. This lection is attested by the translation of Abū Bīḡr Mattā in the lemma of Alexander's genuine commentary<sup>19</sup> and by the Hebrew translation of Moses ben Samuel ibn Tibbon in the paraphrase of Themistius.<sup>20</sup>

As I have pointed out in an article,<sup>21</sup> not only in A<sup>b</sup>, but also in M and V<sup>k</sup> there are remnants of *reclamantes* that were used in antiquity to keep the papyrus rolls (*volumina*) in the right order. This was particularly helpful in the case of

<sup>18</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Metaphysik', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, 31–33. The change of hand has been pointed out already by Wilhelm von Christ; cf. W. v. Christ, 'Kritische Beiträge zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles', *Sitz. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Philol.-philol. u. histor. Cl. 1885, Munich 1886, 408.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. R. Walzer, 'On the Arabic Versions of Books A, α and Λ of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*', *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 63, 1958, 221, 223. See further Averroes, *Tafsīr ma ba'd at-Tabi'at*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, p. 1599, line 4 and note 24.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. CAG vol. V, 5, 20, line 31; in S. Landauer's Hebrew text page eighteen (יח), line 14. Cf. A. Badawi, *Aristū 'ind al-'Arab*, Kuwait 1978, p. 16, line one.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Stefan Alexandru, 'Traces of Ancient Reclamantes Surviving in Further Manuscripts of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 131, 2000, 13–14.

a prolific author like Aristotle, whose works occupied, as Apuleius mentions, “multiiuga volumina”.<sup>22</sup> Given that on the one hand C and M are undeniably related and on the other that the horizontal transmission of *reclamantes* is rather unlikely, these ancient equivalents of catchwords cast additional light on the history of the text, helping to differentiate between manuscripts of the vulgate and descendants of the hyparchetype β.<sup>23</sup>

*Separative errors of the MSS A<sup>b</sup>, M and C*

The manuscripts A<sup>b</sup>, M and C are mutually independent, as shown by numerous characteristic readings; *errores separativi* of A<sup>b</sup> are e.g.:

- 1069 a 20 καὶ A<sup>b</sup>: καὶ C M  
 1072 a 26–27 κινούμενον A<sup>b</sup>: κινούμενα C M  
 1072 a 32 ταύτης ἢ om. A<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 a 33 γάρ om. A<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 b 26 ὦδε C M: ὦδὲ ὦδε A<sup>b</sup>

Peculiar readings of M are for instance:

- 1069 b 28 οὐ A<sup>b</sup> C: οὐκ ἐκ M  
 1072 a 24–25 καὶ κινούν ... κινούμενον om. M  
 1072 a 27 μὲν γάρ C: γάρ μὲν A<sup>b</sup>: μὲν M  
 1072 b 14 ἤρτηται A<sup>b</sup> C: ἤρτηται καὶ M  
 1073 a 32–34 ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτων ... φύσις ἀίδιος om. M  
 1075 a 11 ἐπισκεπτέον A<sup>b</sup> C: σκεπτέον M  
 1075 a 20 ἀλλὰ A<sup>b</sup> C: ἀλλὰ τὰ M  
 1075 a 24 ὦν A<sup>b</sup> C: ὦ M

C exhibits e.g. the following *errores significativi*:

- 1073 b 13 τὰ A<sup>b</sup> M: τὸ C  
 1074 a 14 τε om. C  
 1075 b 11 ἐναντίον A<sup>b</sup> M: ἐναντία C  
 1075 b 19 μετέσχεν A<sup>b</sup> M: μετάσχοιεν C

M and C are quite closely related, sharing numerous peculiar readings, e.g.:

- 1072 a 24 τὸ om. C M  
 1072 b 15 ἐστὶν (ante οἷα) om. C M  
 1073 a 2 ἂν φαίη A<sup>b</sup>: φαίη ἂν C M  
 1073 b 25 τὴν (ante ἀπάσας) om. C M  
 1073 b 29 εἶναι om. C M

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Apol.* 36.

<sup>23</sup> Some attempts to reconstruct features of this papyrus *deperditus* were made already by Wilhelm von Christ (cf. W. v. Christ, ‘Kritische Beiträge zur *Metaphysik* des Aristoteles’, *Sitz. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. histor. Cl.* 1885, Munich 1886, 411–416).

1073 b 38 συντεθείσαι A<sup>b</sup>: συντεθείσθαι C M  
 1075 a 20 ὅ τι ἔτυχε A<sup>b</sup>: ὅτιοῦν C M  
 1075 a 34 ἡ μία A<sup>b</sup>: ἡμῖν ἐστὶν C M  
 1075 a 36–37 τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν A<sup>b</sup>: τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν C M  
 1075 b 14 πάντα A<sup>b</sup>: πάντες C M

Amongst the currently known Greek manuscripts of *Metaph.* A there are no copies of M; C has only one apograph, cod. Vind. Phil. 189 (J<sup>c</sup>), which dates from the sixteenth century;<sup>24</sup> conjunctive errors are e.g.:

1075 b 11 ἐναντίον A<sup>b</sup> M: ἐναντία C J<sup>c</sup>  
 1075 b 19 μετέσχευεν A<sup>b</sup>: μετάσχοιεν C J<sup>c</sup>  
 1075 b 36 οὐδεὶς A<sup>b</sup>: οὐθὲς C J<sup>c</sup>  
 1075 b 38 καὶ alt. M: καὶ τὰς C J<sup>c</sup>

Peculiar readings of J<sup>c</sup> are for example:

1069 b 13 τόπον C: τόπου J<sup>c</sup>  
 1072 a 26 ὀρεκτὸν C: ὀρατὸν J<sup>c</sup>  
 1073 b 18 ἐτίθειτ 'C: ἐτίθει J<sup>c</sup>  
 1073 b 25 ἀπάσας C: in fenestra om. J<sup>c</sup>

The manuscript A<sup>b</sup> has the following five descendants:

B Brux. 11270–75, s. XV<sup>25</sup>  
 D Paris. 1850, s. XV  
 D<sup>m</sup> Marc. 205 (coll. 605), s. XV<sup>26</sup>  
 Q Marc. 200 (coll. 327), a. 1457<sup>27</sup>  
 Z Taur. C III 5, s. XV.

The *codices recentiores* listed above share numerous peculiar readings of A<sup>b</sup>, e.g.:

1069 a 23–24 εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα E J: καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι A<sup>b</sup> B D D<sup>m</sup> Q Z  
 1069 a 34 φασὶ τινες εἶναι E J: τινὲς εἶναι φασὶ A<sup>b</sup> B D D<sup>m</sup> Q Z  
 1072 a 22 λόγῳ μόνον E J: μόνον λόγῳ A<sup>b</sup> B D D<sup>m</sup> Q Z: λόγῳ μόνῳ E<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 a 30 γάρ E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>: δὲ A<sup>b</sup> B D D<sup>m</sup> Q Z E γρ  
 1072 a 33 γάρ om. A<sup>b</sup> B D D<sup>m</sup> Q Z

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. I, Vienna 1961, 298.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, J. Wiesner, *Aristoteles Graecus: Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles*, vol. I, Berlin 1976, 78–83.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Elpidius Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti*, vol. I: *Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 1–299*, Rome 1981, 318–319 and J. A. P. Byrne, *Codices recentiores of Aristotle's Metaphysics*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1958, 36, 54–55.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Elpidius Mioni, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 311–313 and J. A. P. Byrne, *op. cit.*, 36, 56–57.

D<sup>m</sup> derives from A<sup>b</sup>; conjunctive errors are e.g.:

- 1069 a 22 ταῦτα C M: τὰλλα A<sup>b</sup>: τᾶλλα D<sup>m</sup>  
 1072 a 33 γάρ om. A<sup>b</sup> D<sup>m</sup>  
 1072 b 35 ἐστὶ προτέρων C M: προτέρων ἐστὶ A<sup>b</sup> D<sup>m</sup>

Peculiar readings of D<sup>m</sup> as against A<sup>b</sup> are for instance:

- 1069 b 31 om. ἡ D<sup>m</sup>  
 1072 b 29 αἰδῖον ἄριστον A<sup>b</sup>: ἄριστον αἰδῖον D<sup>m</sup>  
 1073 b 9 τοῖς καὶ A<sup>b</sup>: καὶ τοῖς D<sup>m</sup>  
 1073 b 26 ταύτῃ A<sup>b</sup>: ταύτην D<sup>m</sup>

D<sup>m</sup> is the closest common progenitor of the two witnesses Q and B; conjunctive errors are e.g.:

- 1072 b 15 οὕτω B D<sup>m</sup> Q: οὕτως A<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 b 21 καὶ alt. B Q D<sup>m</sup> supra lin.: om. A<sup>b</sup>  
 1072 b 29 ἄριστον αἰδῖον B D<sup>m</sup> Q: αἰδῖον ἄριστον A<sup>b</sup>

Peculiar readings of Q as against D<sup>m</sup> are e.g.:

- 1073 b 22 ὅν alt. D<sup>m</sup>: ὅσον Q  
 1074 a 12 εἰ D<sup>m</sup>: εἰς Q

Mistakes of B which do not occur in D<sup>m</sup> are for example:

- 1069 a 20 τῶ D<sup>m</sup>: τῶν B  
 1069 a 23 καὶ pr. D<sup>m</sup>: κατὰ B  
 1069 a 26 οὖν D<sup>m</sup>: om. B  
 1069 b 4 τῶν alt. D<sup>m</sup>: τῇν B  
 1072 b 26 γε D<sup>m</sup>: om. B  
 1073 a 10 ἄπειρον alt. D<sup>m</sup>: om. B  
 1073 b 3–4 τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἤδη τῶν φορῶν D<sup>m</sup>: om. B  
 1074 a 11 τε alt. D<sup>m</sup>: om. B

It is worth pointing out that D<sup>m</sup> has quite numerous corrections and that Q adopts them more often than B, e.g.:

- 1072 a 31 ἡ alt. D<sup>m</sup> supra lin., Q: om. A<sup>b</sup> B D Z  
 1072 a 32 ταύτης ἡ D<sup>m</sup> supra lin., Q: ταύτης ἡ om. A<sup>b</sup> B D Z  
 1072 b 26 ὦδε D<sup>m</sup> corr., Q: ὦδὶ ὦδε A<sup>b</sup> B D Z D<sup>m</sup> initio  
 1072 b 21 καὶ alt. B Q D<sup>m</sup> supra lin.: καὶ alt. om. A<sup>b</sup>

D descends from B; *errores coniunctivi* are for instance:

- 1069 a 20 τῶ A<sup>b</sup> D<sup>m</sup>: τῶν B D  
 1069 a 23 καὶ pr. D<sup>m</sup>: κατὰ B D  
 1069 b 6 ὑπεῖναι A<sup>b</sup> D<sup>m</sup>: εἶναι B D  
 1069 b 11 φθορὰ D<sup>m</sup>: φορὰ B D  
 1069 b 16–17 ὃν οἶον ἐκ λευκοῦ δυνάμει εἰς τὸ ἐνεργεῖα D<sup>m</sup>: om. B D  
 1069 b 19 γίγνεται D<sup>m</sup>: γίγνεσθαι B D

Peculiar readings of **D** as against **B** are for instance:

- 1069 a 23 γοῦν **B**: οὖν **D**  
 1069 a 29 πῦρ καὶ γῆν **B**: γῆν καὶ πῦρ **D**  
 1072 b 26 θαυμασιώτερον **B**: θαυμαστώτερον **D**  
 1069 b 34 καὶ **B**: καὶ τὸ **D**

It should perhaps be also noted that in the manuscript **D** book  $\Lambda$  (or at least its final part) seems to have been added later, since the passage extending from καὶ pr. 1075 b 35 up to κοίρανος 1076 a 4 is written in the same hand as the rest of  $\Lambda$  at the bottom of fol. 77<sup>r</sup>, after the beginning of book **M**.

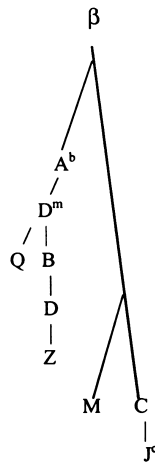
**D** is a progenitor of **Z**. Conjunctive errors are e.g.:

- 1073 b 25 ἀπλανῶν **B**: ἀπλανῶν καὶ **D** **Z**  
 1073 b 28–29 τῆς δὲ ... εἶναι **B**: om. **D** **Z**  
 1073 b 33–34 ἀποστημάτων **B**: ἀποθημάτων **D** **Z**  
 1075 b 6–7 ἄφθαρτον **B**: φθαρτὸν **D** **Z**  
 1075 b 15 μὴ pr. **B** **D**<sup>m</sup> **Q**: μὲν **D** **Z**

Peculiar lections of **Z** as against **D** are e.g.:

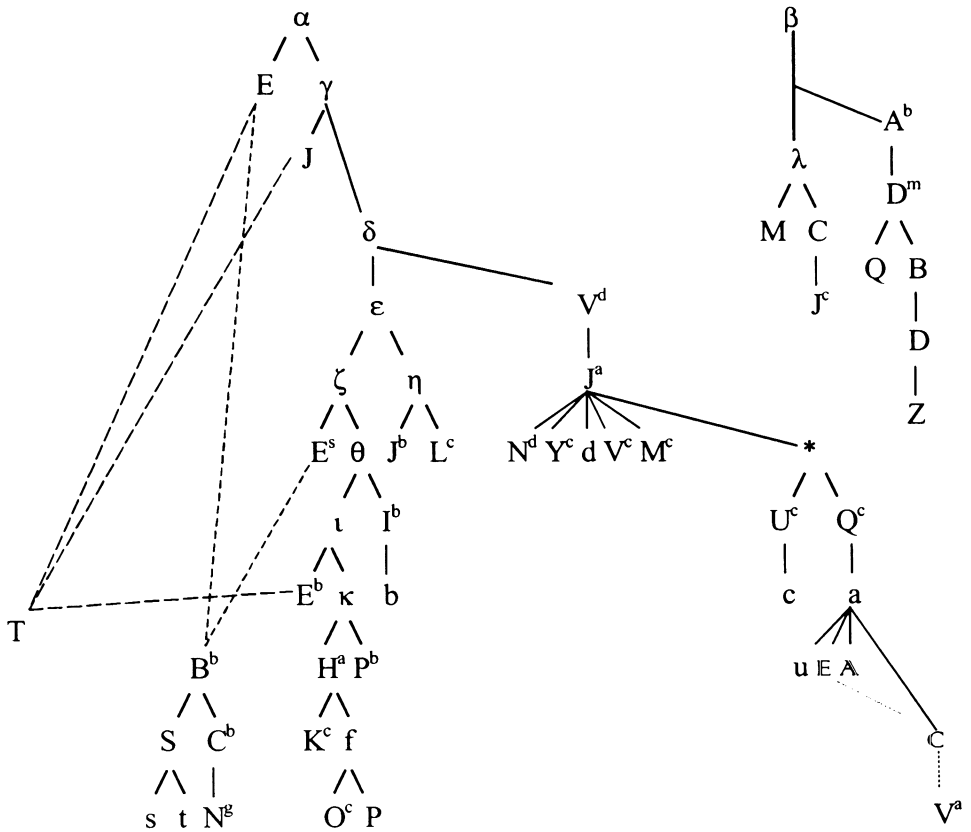
- 1072 a 33 ἀπλοῦν **D**: ἀπλῶς **Z**  
 1072 b 26 θαυμασιώτερον **B**: θαυμαστώτερον **D**: θαυμαστότερον **Z**  
 1073 b 23 τέτταρσιν **D**: τέταρσιν **Z**  
 1076 a 1 παντός **D**: πράγματος **Z**

The relationships between the hitherto known witnesses of the  $\beta$  branch in 1069 a 18–1073 a 1 can be delineated as follows:

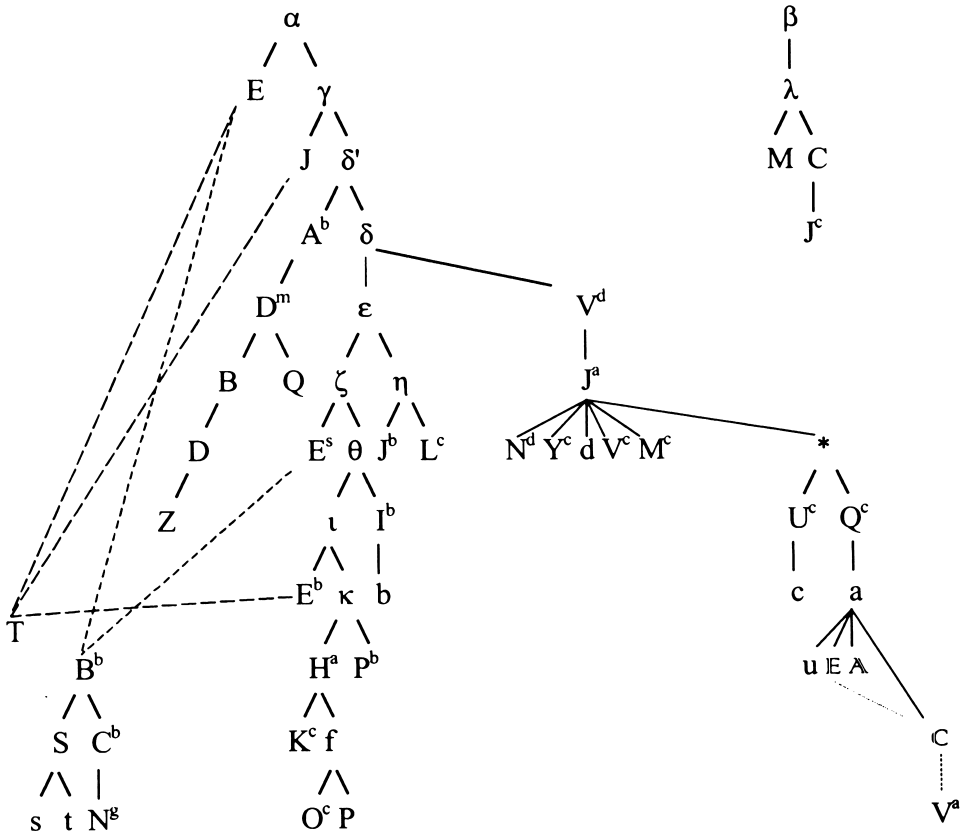


If we leave aside the contamination of the two families, the descent of the surviving Greek MSS of *Metaph.* Λ can be serviceably represented in the following way:

I. For the section 1069a18–1073a1:



II. For the section 1073 a 1–1076 a 4:



CONTAMINATION IN THE HITHERTO KNOWN MSS OF *METAPH. A*

It should be emphasized that questions regarding contamination will not be pursued here in greater detail than absolutely necessary for the current editorial purpose. In this section the main intent is to indicate which manuscripts exhibit readings that are not characteristic of their own line of transmission. The inappropriateness of such codices for an accurate reconstruction of lost variant-carriers (hyparchetypes) will *eo ipso* become evident. A further intent is to trace valuable material incorporated from *codices deperditi*.

*Codices of the α family**i. cod. Paris. gr. 1853 (E)*

In E numerous variants, partly of the first hand, witness to the fact that heterogeneous material has been incorporated at some stage. Several variants coincide with readings found in MSS belonging to the β family:

- 1075 b 12 ῥυθμίση E E<sup>s</sup> J : ῥαθυμήση C M E γρ  
 1069 a 22 ταῦτα C J M: τᾶλλα A<sup>b</sup> E γρ  
 1072 a 29 διότι pr. A<sup>b</sup> E γρ: ὅτι C E J M  
 1072 a 30 γάρ C E J M V<sup>d</sup>: δέ A<sup>b</sup> E γρ  
 1072 b 5 ὥστ' εἰ ἡ φορὰ A<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>: ὥστε εἰ ἡ φορὰ E γρ: ὥθ' ἡ φορὰ E  
 1072 b 5 πρῶτη A<sup>b</sup> E γρ: ἡ πρῶτη E J V<sup>d</sup> C in mg. eadem manu: in lacuna  
 omiserunt M C initio

It is also the case that a wrong reading of the β family occurs in the main text area of E (whereas the true lection surviving in manuscripts of the α tradition is recorded as a variant or not recorded at all):

- 1075 b 14 πάντα A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J E γρ: πάντες C E I<sup>b</sup> M  
 1073 b 31 τοὺς alt. A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J V<sup>d</sup> C γρ: τοῦ C E J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M

Here it is worth pointing out that in 1075 a 5 the correct reading τῷ νοουμένῳ preserved by witnesses of the β tradition is written in the left margin of fol. 295<sup>v</sup> of E (not recorded by Bekker, von Christ and Ross):

- 1075 a 5 τῷ νοουμένῳ C M V<sup>k</sup> E manu poster. in marg.: τοῦ νοουμένου vulg.

In 1075 a 20 the lection ὅ τι ἔτυχε, which occurs in almost all the MSS of the α branch, is recorded as a variant, whereas the reading shared by all the independent representatives of the β family is penned in the main text of E:

- 1075 a 20 ὅ τι ἔτυχε A<sup>b</sup> J E γρ: ὅτιοῦν C E M V<sup>k</sup>

A similar situation occurs in 1073 a 34 where the correct reading αὐτήν is found in the text of E and in *codices recentiores* of the β tradition:



1073a34 αὐτὴν E E<sup>b2</sup> V<sup>k</sup> C (αυτὴν): αὐτοῦ C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>: αὐτὸ vulg.: in lac. om. M

As far as the marginalia are concerned, it is clear that E cannot be considered an unadulterated representative of the α branch. With regard to its main text some kind of contamination between E and *recentiores* of the β family cannot be denied either.<sup>28</sup>

It should further be noted that not all the variants found in E also occur in the extant representatives of the β branch; for instance in 1074a20 a true reading survives only as variant in E and in sources of the indirect tradition:

1074a20 τέλος E γρ: τέλους A<sup>b</sup> C E J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

The correct reading τὸ τότε in 1069b11 is also present in E, τὸ having been added *supra lineam*:<sup>29</sup>

1069b11 τὸ τότε J V<sup>d</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>a</sup> b E corr. (τὸ manu rec. supra lin. addito): τότε cett.

## ii. cod. Vat. 255 (V<sup>d</sup>)

This manuscript also shows signs of contamination. Agreements with witnesses of the β branch occur e.g. in:

1075a37 τὸ ἀγαθὸν μάλιστα M V<sup>d</sup>: μάλιστα τὸ ἀγαθὸν cett.

1074b30 ἄλλο τι A<sup>b</sup> C: ἄλλο L<sup>c</sup> M V<sup>d</sup>: ἄλλον J<sup>b</sup>

1069b2 κοινή A<sup>b</sup> E J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>: κινήσεως C E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

1072b5 ὥστ' εἰ ἡ φορὰ A<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> E γρ manu poster.: ὥσθ' ἡ φορὰ E initio E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup>

1073b23 τέτρασιν A<sup>b</sup> E J: τέτρασιν C M V<sup>d</sup>

1069b20 τοῦτ 'E E<sup>b</sup> J: τοῦτο A<sup>b</sup> C M V<sup>d</sup>

It should further be noted that V<sup>d</sup> was probably corrected on the basis of a valuable *deperditus*; in 1072b2–3 for instance the correct reading καὶ τινός appears solely in V<sup>d</sup> and in its descendant J<sup>a</sup>:

1072b2–3 καὶ τινός V<sup>d</sup> supra lin., J<sup>a</sup> initio: τινός A<sup>b</sup>: om. C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup>

Similarly the lection τι in 1070a13, which is omitted by all the independent MSS except A<sup>b</sup>, occurs in V<sup>d</sup>:

<sup>28</sup> Cf., incidentally, also 1086a1 αὐτὰ M C E: ταῦτα J A<sup>b</sup>. The present issue of manuscript contamination is particularly interesting. Already in the nineteenth century it has been pointed out that the text of the *Physics* transmitted by cod. Parisinus gr. 1853 is heterogeneous (cf. Hermann Diels, 'Zur Textgeschichte der Aristotelischen *Physik*', *Abh. d. Königl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Philos.-histor. Kl., 1882, I, Berlin 1883, 24).

<sup>29</sup> Occasionally also wrong readings that are not attested elsewhere occur as *variae lectiones* in E, cf. e.g. at 1074a35 the variant Σωκράτης δὲ οὐχ εἷς. It is further worth mentioning that on the folia containing *Metaph.* Λ (291<sup>v</sup>–296<sup>v</sup>) there are more than two handwritings.

1070 a 13 τι A<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> corr.: om. C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> ante corr.

In 1073 a 25 καὶ has been added after πρώτην above the line. If one looks for this reading in the sources of the direct tradition, one finds it only in C, M and V<sup>k</sup>, which at this point solely represent β:

1073 a 25 πρώτην A<sup>b</sup> E I<sup>b</sup> J: πρώτην καὶ C M V<sup>k</sup> V<sup>d</sup> (καὶ supra lin. addito)

*iii. cod. Escor. Y III 18 (E<sup>s</sup>)*

The manuscript E<sup>s</sup> exhibits likewise readings that occur in codices of the β family. In 1072 a 26–27 for instance we unexpectedly find the lection κινούμενον, although all the independent MSS of the α tradition read κινούμενα:

1072 a 26–27 κινούμενα C E E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> J M V<sup>d</sup>: κινούμενον A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup>

Similarly, in 1072 b 15 E<sup>s</sup> omits ἐστὶν together with C, M and V<sup>k</sup>:<sup>30</sup>

1072 b 15 ἐστὶν A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup>: om. C E<sup>s</sup> M V<sup>k</sup>

The reading κινήσεως found in 1069 b 2, which may have originated in the mediaeval period, since it is not attested by the sources of the indirect tradition, occurs both in the *recentiores* of the α family and in those belonging to the β branch. Given that not all the representatives of these two branches survive, it cannot be decided whether a common ancestor of M and C (or these two MSS independently of each other) derived the reading κινήσεως from a witness of the α family or whether it was rather the case that a forebear of V<sup>d</sup>, E<sup>s</sup> and E<sup>b</sup> was contaminated by a descendant of the hyparchetype β.

*iv. codd. Vind. Phil. 66 (J<sup>b</sup>) and Laur. 87, 19 (L<sup>c</sup>)*

The manuscripts J<sup>b</sup> and L<sup>c</sup> also show signs of contamination. In 1073 b 31 for example occurs the mistaken reading τοῦ found in E and in the representatives of the β family M and C:

1073 b 31 τοὺς alt. A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> C γρ: τοῦ C E<sup>b2</sup> E J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M

Further instances are:

1070 a 31 ἄλλαι C E J J<sup>b</sup> M: ἄλλαι A<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> γρ

1075 a 5 τῷ νοουμένων C M V<sup>k</sup> E in mg., I<sup>b</sup> correctus, J<sup>b</sup> γρ: τοῦ νοουμένου vulg.

1072 a 23 οὐρανός vulg., J<sup>b</sup> γρ: ἀνθρωπος J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Of minor weight is the agreement with A<sup>b</sup> in 1071 b 17, where the Laurentianus and the Escorialensis transmit ἐνεργήση instead of ἐνεργήσει.

*v. cod. Paris. Coisl. gr. 161 (I<sup>b</sup>)*

Signs of eclecticism are noticeable in I<sup>b</sup> as well. At 1075b14 for instance this manuscript agrees in error with C, M, E, E<sup>b2</sup> and V<sup>k</sup> against all its close cognates:

1075b14 πάντα A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> E γρ: πάντες I<sup>b</sup> C M E<sup>b2</sup> E V<sup>k</sup>

To some extent similar cases are:

1072a31 αὐτήν C E E<sup>s</sup> J M: ἐαυτήν A<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup>

1072a33 τὸ pr. A<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup>: om. C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

1075a20 ὅ τι ἔτυχε A<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> J E γρ: ὁτιοῦν C E I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>c</sup> M V<sup>k</sup>

*vi. cod. Marc. 211 (E<sup>b</sup>)*

The text written in the first hand does not seem to derive exclusively from representatives of the α family.<sup>31</sup> However, much more important is the fact that this witness has been corrected on the basis of a manuscript of the β tradition, as can be seen e.g. in:

1069a31 ἄϊδιος ἡ δὲ om. E<sup>b2</sup> J<sup>c</sup> M V<sup>k</sup> C ante corr.

1071b16 μὴν C M E<sup>b2</sup>: τοίνυν vulg.

1072a3 προτέραν C M E<sup>b2</sup>: πρότερον εἶναι H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup>: πρότερον cett.

1073b38 συντεθείσθαι E<sup>b2</sup> C M: συντεθῆναι J<sup>a</sup> a: συντεθείσαι cett.

1074b2 παραλελειμμένα M E<sup>b2</sup>: καταλελειμμένα cett.

1074b4 προήκται E<sup>b2</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: προίχται C M V<sup>k</sup>: προσήκται cett.

1075b12 ῥαθυμήσει E<sup>b2</sup>: ῥαθυμήσῃ C M T E γρ: ῥαθυμήσι V<sup>k</sup>: ῥυθμίση vulg.

1075b24 ἔτι εἰ E<sup>b2</sup> C M V<sup>k</sup> V<sup>d</sup> corr., a: εἴ τε vulg.

The codex used by the corrector of E<sup>b</sup> appears to have been more closely related to M than to C and V<sup>k</sup>:

1074b2 παραλελειμμένα M E<sup>b2</sup>: καταλελειμμένα C V<sup>k</sup> cett.

1073b26 τὸν C vulg.: τὴν M E<sup>b2</sup>

In spite of this relationship with M that *deperditus* did not omit, so far as we can see, the section 1073a32–34 ἀνάγκη ... ἄϊδιος, which is missing in the Ambrosianus:

1073a34 αὐτήν C E E<sup>b2</sup> J<sup>c</sup> V<sup>k</sup>: αὐτοῦ C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>g</sup>: αὐτὸ vulg.: in lac. om. M

<sup>31</sup> Cf. e.g. 1071b17 ἔστι A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b1</sup>.

vii. cod. Marcianus 214 (*H<sup>a</sup>*)

This copy of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* also exhibits some signs of contamination.<sup>32</sup> In 1074a27 for instance it agrees in error with cod. Taur. B VII 23:

1074a27 εἰ δ' ὅτι C H<sup>a1</sup>: οὐδ' vulg.

Similar examples are:

1072b30 καὶ A<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> B<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> supra lin., Lat<sup>b</sup>: om. C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup>

1071a7 οἶνος H<sup>a</sup> A<sup>b</sup> C E J M: ἡ νόσος E<sup>b1</sup> E<sup>s</sup> P<sup>b</sup>: ἡ νόσος J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> s.l., initio I<sup>b</sup>

1072a22 λόγῳ μόνον E E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J V<sup>d</sup>: λόγῳ μόνῳ J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> (λόγ modo incertum)

1074a14 τε om. C H<sup>a</sup>

As a minor point one could further mention that in 1072a31 H<sup>a</sup> agrees with two of its contaminated relatives and with A<sup>b</sup> in reading ἐαυτήν:

1072a31 αὐτήν C E E<sup>s</sup> J M: ἐαυτήν A<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup>

In 1072b30 one unexpectedly finds in H<sup>a</sup> the valuable reading καὶ αἰδῖος. Although it is true that the καὶ may have been restored through conjecture, it can nevertheless be the case that this lection derives from a MS of the β family, since it occurs in A<sup>b</sup> and *supra lineam*<sup>33</sup> in V<sup>d</sup>:

1072b30 καὶ A<sup>b</sup> B<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup> supra lin.: om. C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> initio

*Codices of the β family*

i. cod. Taur. B VII 23 (C)

Beyond any doubt this manuscript is contaminated with readings of the α family, as emerges e.g. from the following passages:

1069a31 αἰδῖος ἡ δὲ C in marg., E<sup>b1</sup>, vulg.: om. M J<sup>c</sup> C initio: punctis del. E<sup>b2</sup>

1071a20–21 τῶν καθ' ἑκαστον vulg. C: om. τῶν καθ' ἑκαστον A<sup>b</sup> M J<sup>b</sup>

1071a23 τὸ alt. A<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup> M: om. C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>

1073a10 ἄπειρον alt. C in marg., vulg.: om. M

1073b31 τοῦ alt. C γρ, vulg.: τοῦ C E E<sup>b2</sup> B<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M

1075a5 τοῦ νοουμένου C γρ, vulg.: τῷ νοουμένῳ C M V<sup>k</sup> E mg., J<sup>b</sup> γρ, I<sup>b</sup> corr.<sup>34</sup>

In 1093b11 C initially had the correct reading ὥς also found in M, which was subsequently replaced through the corrupt reading ἐκεῖνο of the α family. On f. 119<sup>r</sup> the scribe added ἐκεῖνο above line four; the letters ωσ are crossed out by his pen.

<sup>32</sup> The traces of contamination present in its congener P<sup>b</sup> are rather faint and at any rate the copyist of this manuscript appears not to have had recourse to any codex of the β family.

<sup>33</sup> It is written in abbreviated form above the first line on fol. 201<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> On the diagnostic value of passages such as the last three mentioned here cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 37.

ii. *cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. (M)*

**M** shows fewer signs of contamination than **C**. In book  $\Lambda$  this Ambrosianus repeatedly agrees with younger representatives of the  $\alpha$  family against the other members of the  $\beta$  branch:

1070 a 14 συνθετήν vulg.: σύνθετον **M** **I**<sup>b</sup> **P**<sup>b</sup> **H**<sup>a</sup> ut vid.

1070 a 32 ὥς vulg.: ὥς οὐ **M** **E**<sup>b</sup> **E**<sup>s</sup> **H**<sup>a</sup> **I**<sup>b</sup> **P**<sup>b</sup> **V**<sup>d</sup> **E** (οὐ supra lin. addito)

1070 b 22 καὶ τῶν vulg.: καὶ τὸ **M** **E**<sup>s</sup> **J**<sup>b</sup> **L**<sup>c</sup> **V**<sup>d</sup>

Given that in book  $\kappa$  this codex repeatedly is in consonance with the descendants of the hyparchetype  $\alpha$  against its congeners **Y**, **A**<sup>b</sup> and **C**,<sup>35</sup> it cannot be denied that **M** incorporates readings from both branches of the direct tradition.

*Reflections on the stemmatic value of cod. Laur. 87, 12 (A<sup>b</sup>)*

Sample collations from books **E** and **I** give the impression that not many superior readings which are absent from **M** and **C** can be gained from **A**<sup>b</sup>. In the eleventh book, however, the situation is somewhat different. In the final four chapters, i.e. the last four Bekker pages that precede book  $\Lambda$ , the manuscript **A**<sup>b</sup> transmits more than fifteen lections which are totally absent from the texts of **C** and **M**.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, in this section a notable number of readings peculiar to **A**<sup>b</sup> are attested by authors from late antiquity such as Themistius,<sup>37</sup> Simplicius,<sup>38</sup> John Philoponus,<sup>39</sup> Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, also in book  $\Lambda$  1–7 1069 a 18–1073 a 1 one is on fairly

<sup>35</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 23 and 35 regarding ἡ pr. 1059 a 33 (ἡ alt in **M** fol. 173<sup>r</sup>, line 19) as well as πᾶν 1059 b 31 (πάντα in **M** fol. 174<sup>r</sup>, l. 20).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. 1065 a 22 διανοίας **A**<sup>b</sup>: τῆς διανοίας **M** **C**|| 1065 b 30 τὸ alt. **A**<sup>b</sup>: om. **C** **M**|| 1065 b 34 οὖν **A**<sup>b</sup>: γάρ **C** **M**|| 1066 a 19 θεῖναι **A**<sup>b</sup>: τιθέναι **C** **M**|| 1066 b 16 ἄερος ἄηρ μέρος **A**<sup>b</sup>: ἄερος μέρος ἄηρ **C** **M**|| 1066 b 34 καὶ **A**<sup>b</sup>: om. **C** **M**|| 1067 a 28 σῶμα αἰσθητὸν **A**<sup>b</sup>: αἰσθητὸν σῶμα **C** **M**|| 1067 b 7 δὲ pr. **A**<sup>b</sup>: μὲν **C** **M**|| 1068 a 11 τοῦ **A**<sup>b</sup>: om. **C** **M**|| 1068 a 15 μεταβολῆς μεταβολή **A**<sup>b</sup>: μεταβολή μεταβολῆς **C** **M**|| 1068 a 25 ἡ δ' ὡδί, ἡ κίνησις **A**<sup>b</sup>: αἱ δὲ ὡδί κινήσεις **C** **M**|| 1068 b 3 ἡ δὴ **A**<sup>b</sup>: εἰ δὴ **C** **M**|| 1068 b 4 τι **A**<sup>b</sup>: om. **C** **M**|| 1068 b 12 ἔτι **A**<sup>b</sup>: om. **C** **M**|| 1068 b 21 ἡ **A**<sup>b</sup>: om. **C** **M**|| 1068 b 33 ἐφεξῆς **A**<sup>b</sup>: ἐξῆς **C** **M**|| 1069 a 13 τὸ **A**<sup>b</sup>: πρὸς τὸ **C** **M**. As far as the earlier part of book  $\kappa$  is concerned cf. 1063 a 21 συναληθεύεσθαι **A**<sup>b</sup>: ἀληθεύεσθαι **C** **M**.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Them. in *Ph.* 171. 18 ad τὸ ποσὸν 1068 b 17, *ibid.* 172. 15–16 ad 1068 b 21 ἡ.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Simp. in *Ph.* 474. 22 ad ἄερος ἄηρ μέρος 1066 b 16, *ibid.* 838. 28 ad μεταβολῆς μεταβολή 1068 a 15, *ibid.* 840. 6 ad ἡ δ' ὡδί 1068 a 25 and *ibid.* 858. 13 ad καὶ τὸ 1068 b 17.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. e.g. Philp. in *Ph.* 415. 20, 23 ad ἄερος ἄηρ μέρος 1066 b 16, *ibid.* 431. 1 ad ὁπωσοῦν 1066 b 29. In 1066 b 34 **A**<sup>b</sup> reads τὸ ἄπειρον (**C** and **M** transmit ἄπειρον, omitting the article); on this lection cf. Philp. in *Ph.* 432. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Relating to the reading ἡ αὐτὸ ἢ ἄλλο in 1065 b 22–23, cf. Simp. in *Ph.* 422. 22–24: κατὰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Πορφύριον οὕτως: ... ἡτοι αὐτὸ ἢ ἄλλο.

numerous occasions struck by readings of A<sup>b</sup> which are in accord with older sources, but do not occur in M and C.<sup>41</sup>

The agreement or disagreement of the Milan and Turin manuscripts with the Medicean codex is of some relevance to the establishment of the text of *Metaph.* A. However, in the light of the evidence quoted above it does not seem appropriate to regard any of these later manuscripts or even their consensus as carrying in all instances the same weight as the part of A<sup>b</sup> that dates back to the twelfth century.

It is worth investigating this and other related issues in somewhat greater detail. For it has been recently asserted in the literature that cod. Laurentianus 87, 12 (A<sup>b</sup>) changes allegiance in *Metaph.* K 8, somewhere around 1065 a 25, not at Λ 8, 1073 a 1 right after οἶον, as pointed out by Professor D. Harlfinger.<sup>42</sup> The testimonies adduced in support of this claim are far from cogent; the aforementioned opinion partly rests upon misleading reports of manuscript readings. Although numerous lections have been recorded, little evidence has been gathered to prove the point. If one discards the passages that misrepresent, in one way or another, the sources, as well as the plentifully listed non-conjunctive mistakes, it becomes conspicuous that notable agreements in error between A<sup>b</sup> and cod. Vind. Phil. 100 (J) or cod. Vat. 255 (V<sup>d</sup>)<sup>43</sup> are scanty.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, even the ones that can be found do not satisfy very strict stemmatic criteria<sup>45</sup> and may derive from horizontal trans-

<sup>41</sup> Cf. e.g. 1069 a 22 τᾶλλα A<sup>b</sup> Them, 1070 a 31 ἔστιν ὧς om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1070 a 33 πάντων] πάντα A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1070 a 36 τὰ] τὸ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>, 1070 b 17 τῷ] τὸ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>, 1070 b 29–30 καὶ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1071 a 20 τὰ om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>, 1071 a 24 εἰδῆ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>, 1071 b 2 πῶς alt. om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1071 b 4–5 τινὰ ἀτίθειον A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>, 1071 b 28 ἦν ὁμοῦ A<sup>b</sup> Them Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1071 b 29 τι om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1072 a 6 τὸ om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1072 a 30 δὲ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1072 a 30 κινεῖται om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> and 1072 b 5 εἰ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>. Worth noting here is also that in 1072 b 3 the correct reading τινός, which is missing from most of the MSS and is found in V<sup>d</sup> *supra lineam*, appears in cod. Laur. 87, 12 in the first hand.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 32. See further P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, J. Wiesner (eds.), *Aristoteles Graecus: Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles*, vol. I, Berlin 1976, 302–304.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. e.g. S. Fazzo, 'Lo stemma codicum dei libri Kappa e Lambda della *Metafisica*: Una revisione necessaria', *Aevum* 84, 2010, 342, n. 10.

<sup>44</sup> On comparatively infrequent agreements between J and A<sup>b</sup> from 993 a 30 to 1073 a 1 cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Metaphysics: A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. I, Oxford 1924, repr. 1997, clvii.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. e.g. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*. Edited and Translated by Glenn W. Most, Chicago—London 2005, 230: "It will be enough to attribute the value of conjunctive errors only to those corruptions which cannot be healed by conjecture and which, on the other hand, constitute so evident an error that they cannot be the object of a

mission.<sup>46</sup> It should be noted that occasional nonfortuitous agreements in errors that can be transmitted horizontally do not incontrovertibly prove that the manuscripts concerned are offsprings of the same ancestor.

In the ensuing section the line count normally relates to the main text. Title lines, headings indicating the author, marginalia penned in the top margin, portions of writing added between the lines and, as a matter of course, decorated bars<sup>47</sup> as well as narrow ornamental strips<sup>48</sup> have not been ordinarily taken into account. The standard palaeographical abbreviations have been tacitly expanded; not all the details of accentuation and punctuation have been reproduced. As mentioned in the list of sigla, the graphic symbols **E** and **C**, not to be confused with **E** and **C**, respectively represent the edition of Erasmus reissued at Basle in 1550 and the Lyons 1590 edition of Isaac Casaubonus published by Iacobus Bubonius.<sup>49</sup>

From the secondary literature one might easily get the impression that, e.g., the *vetustissimus* of the  $\alpha$  family, cod. Vind. Phil. 100, transmits  $\alpha\upsilon\breve\zeta\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  at 1069 b17, siding with **A<sup>b</sup>** against **M** and **C**, which exhibit  $\alpha\breve\zeta\eta\varsigma$ . However, in line 38 on f. 185<sup>v</sup> one can see that this Vienna manuscript reads  $\alpha\breve\zeta\eta\varsigma$  in the Bekker-line 1069 b17, not  $\alpha\upsilon\breve\zeta\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ . **J** thus agrees with **M** and **C** against **A<sup>b</sup>**, with which it is supposed to be closely related. In 1070 a31 the words  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma$  are not missing from **J**, since they were added in the left margin. According to G. Vuillemin-Diem they were even penned by the main scribe.<sup>50</sup> At 1072 a24

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horizontal transmission: in fact, only errors with a semblance of truth (that is, for the most part, banalizations) are transmitted by collation, not obvious errors."

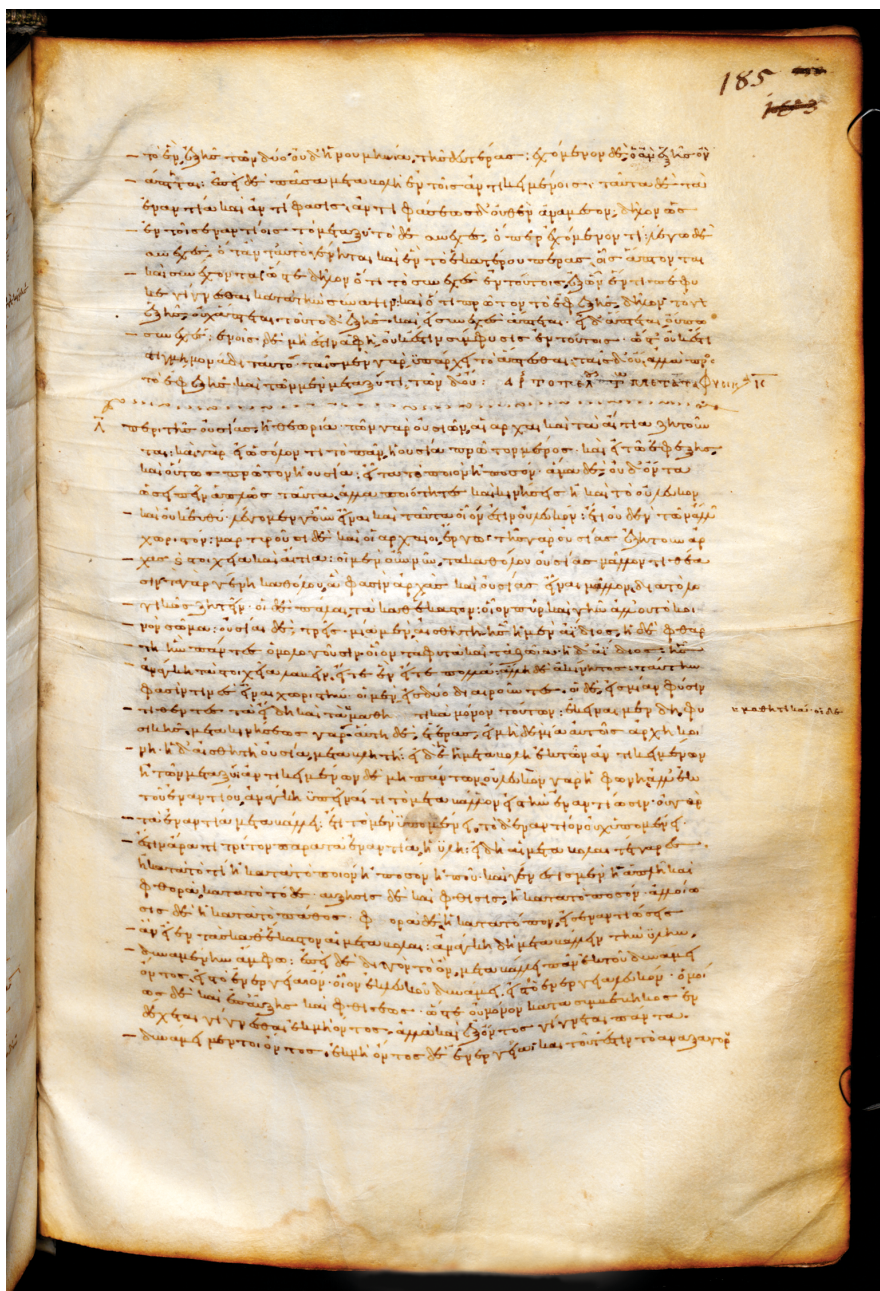
<sup>46</sup> On horizontal transmission see Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 1952, repr. 1988, XVII: "È un pregiudizio credere che la trasmissione dei testi sia unicamente «verticale»; essa è spesso, e in testi molto letti e in testi propriamente scolastici si potrebbe dir sempre, «trasversale» o «orizzontale»; vale a dire varianti buone o cattive, anche errori che a noi parrebbero evidenti, penetrano spesso nei manoscritti per collazione. Solo le lacune sono, almeno di regola, trasmesse direttamente." Cf. e.g. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, Stuttgart 1973, 14, n. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Such a bar is found e.g. on f. 189<sup>v</sup> in cod. Ambr. F 113 sup.

<sup>48</sup> Adorned in this way is for example f. 185<sup>r</sup> of cod. Vind. Phil. 100; the decorative element is penned between lines eleven and twelve.

<sup>49</sup> Copy used: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, shelf mark 2<sup>o</sup> Vt 38<a>.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica*. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1995, 325 and 7. The manuscript **A<sup>b</sup>** reads: ... τῆς ὑγείας· ἔστι δὲ τὰ αἴτια καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, ἄλλα ἄλλων· (f. 468<sup>r</sup>, 7–9). At the moment when this book is going to the press codex Vindobonensis Graecus Phil. 100 is inaccessible for reasons of conservation. For the convenience of the reader we should equally reproduce this passage as it seems to have been penned into **J** initially, viz. τῆς ὑγείας ἔστιν: τὰ δὲ αἴτια καὶ ἀρχαί ἄλλα ἄλλων· ἔστιν δ' (f. 185<sup>v</sup>, 33–34). In this Vienna manuscript the article αἱ at 1070 a31 has been added above line thirty-four on folio 185 verso.



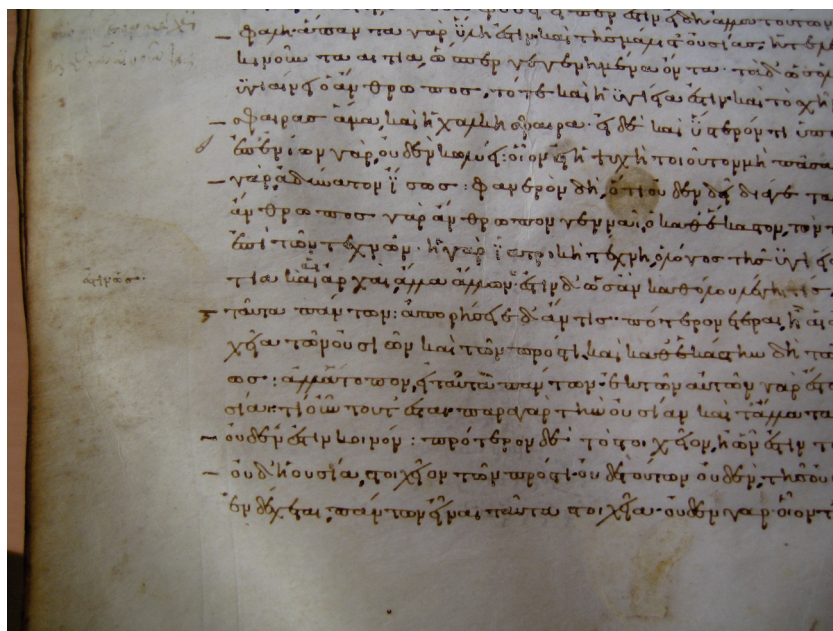
Vienna, Austrian National Library, Codex Vindobonensis

Phil. gr. 100, f. 185<sup>v</sup>, slightly enhanced

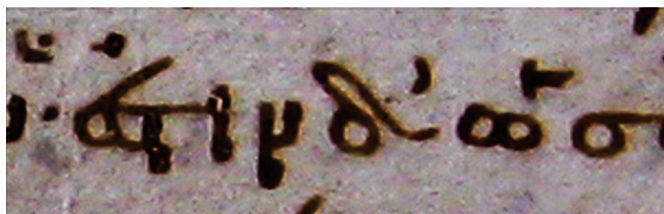
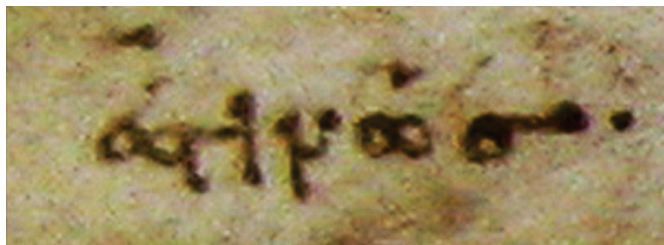
Original size ca. 275 × 185 mm

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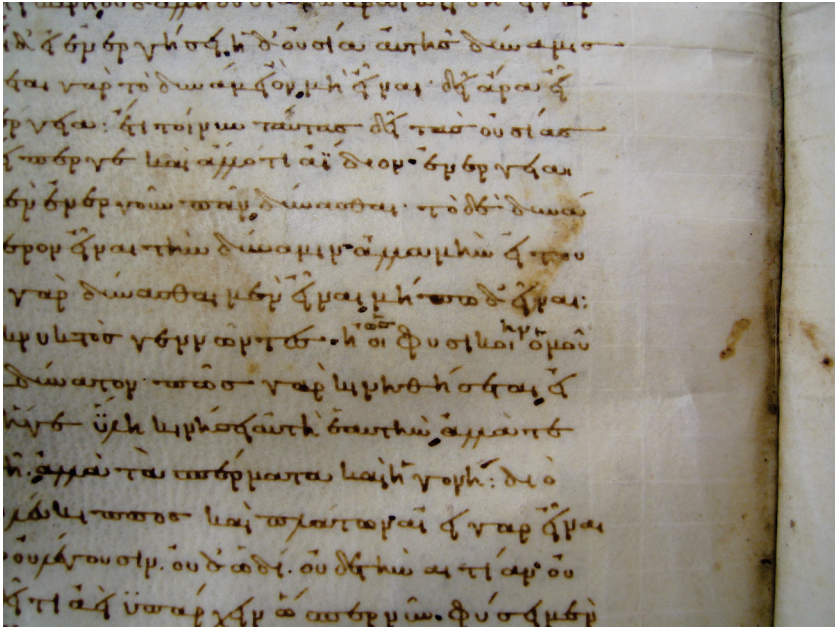




Codex Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 100, f. 185<sup>v</sup>, ll. 26–41, view of detail  
 Colour scan of the original, by courtesy of Dr. Andreas Fingernagel  
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Codex Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 100, f. 185<sup>v</sup>  
 Enhanced marginal annotation (above) and part of l. 34 (below)  
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Codex Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 100, f. 186<sup>v</sup>, ll. 23–36, view of detail  
 Colour scan of the original, by courtesy of Magistra Ingeborg Formann  
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cod. Parisinus Graecus 1853 (E) actually reads τὸ κινούμενον, the article τὸ having been inserted partly above and partly before the first syllable of the participle, as can be seen in line twenty-six on f. 293<sup>v</sup>. Besides, since the particle τε found in the first line on f. 485<sup>v</sup> of A<sup>b</sup> has been written more than a century later by a different hand,<sup>51</sup> this does not prove that the exemplar used up to 1073 a1 οἶον,<sup>52</sup> which allegedly belonged to the α family, actually read οἶον τε,<sup>53</sup> supporting the lections initially penned into J and V<sup>d</sup>. That

<sup>51</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 9, 32.

<sup>52</sup> The words ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον· οἶον are written at the bottom of the preceding manuscript page, i.e. in line twenty-one on f. 485<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> The way in which the pronominal adjective is accented makes it slightly more plausible to assume that the earlier copyist read οἶον, not οἶον τε, and that his source preserved the correct reading also found in M, C, E and other independent manuscripts. In 1068 b 6, 1071 b 8 and 1072 a1, for example, the second omicron is accentuated with the acute, as can be seen on ff. 457<sup>v</sup>, 19 (the folio number was altered from 456 to 457), 475<sup>r</sup>, 3 and 478<sup>v</sup>, 8 of codex Laurentianus 87, 12.

haplographies<sup>54</sup> and other trivial faults can occur independently in different branches of the tradition and do not count as conjunctive errors is so well known that it hardly deserves to be mentioned.<sup>55</sup> All too obvious is also that agreements in correct readings are not essential from a stemmatic point of view, since, as E. K. Rand, who is fairly often referred to by Pasquali, puts it “not correct readings but errors determine groups among manuscripts”.<sup>56</sup> Such is the agreement of A<sup>b</sup> (f. 477<sup>v</sup>, 4) with V<sup>d</sup> (f. 198<sup>r</sup>, 17) and other codices of the α family (e.g. E<sup>b</sup>, E<sup>s</sup>, H<sup>a</sup>, I<sup>b</sup>, J<sup>b</sup>, L<sup>c</sup>, P<sup>b</sup>), which read ἦν ὁμοῦ, against E (f. 293<sup>r</sup>, 41), M (f. 194<sup>r</sup>, 7) and C (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, 18) in 1071 b 28. A further aspect needs to be mentioned in this connection. As Ross and Jaeger have already pointed out, in cod. Vind. Phil. gr. 100 (f. 186<sup>v</sup>, 30) the letters ην have not been penned by the main copyist. They have been added above the line in a slightly darker ink. This superlinear addition does not prove that the nearest ancestor of J preserved the reading ἦν, nor does it provide cumulative evidence for the claim that J and A<sup>b</sup> are related. The corrector may have drawn this lection from another source.

It has been admitted that A<sup>b</sup>, after its supposed change of allegiance, repeatedly shares readings of the *recentiores* of the β family, but not all the lections common to A<sup>b</sup>, M and C in *Metaph.* K 8, 1065 a 25–Λ 7, 1073 a 1 οἶον have been mentioned. The reading οἶα in 1072 b 15, for example, occurs in A<sup>b</sup>, M, C, as well as in V<sup>k</sup>, the newly discovered witness to the text of *Metaphysics* Lambda pertaining to the branch β. The same applies to the particle δὲ in 1072 b 3, which is supported by the Arabic version of Ustāth, the paraphrase of Themistius and the *editio princeps*.<sup>57</sup>

The recurrent agreements of the codices A<sup>b</sup>, M and C, which are viewed as belonging to two divergent branches of the tradition, raise questions

<sup>54</sup> Such errors, referred to in the recent literature, are e.g. the omission of the second κινήθησεται in 1067 a 14, of ἔστιν ὧς in 1070 a 31 and of ἀνθρώπων in 1070 b 31.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. e.g. L. D. Reynolds, N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 1991, 226. See further M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, Stuttgart 1973. U. Knoche, repeatedly referred to by G. Pasquali, was not accidentally looking for the “signifikante Übereinstimmung” and for “rare Lesarten” (‘Ein Iuvenalkodex des 11. Jahrhunderts in beneventanischer Schrift und seine Einordnung in die handschriftliche Überlieferung’, *Hermes* 63, 1928, 351–352 and 354). Minor mistakes can, of course, be also listed, but in addition to *errores significativi*.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. E. K. Rand, ‘The New Critical Edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*’, review of P. Ovidi Nasonis *Metamorphoses*, ed. by H. Magnus, Berlin 1914, *Classical Philology* 11, 1916, 59.

<sup>57</sup> Further agreements, some of them with few other independent manuscripts, are e.g. 1070 a 3 γίνεται A<sup>b</sup> C M E<sup>b</sup>, 1070 a 8 ἐαυτῶ A<sup>b</sup> C M, 1070 b 1 τὰ ἄλλα A<sup>b</sup> C M B<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup>, 1071 b 1 αἱ alt. A<sup>b</sup> C M J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> T, 1071 b 13 ἔστι A<sup>b</sup> C M T E post corr. and 1072 a 4 δὲ pr. A<sup>b</sup> C M.

regarding the issue of manuscript contamination<sup>58</sup> and cast severe doubts upon the validity of the recently presented stemmatic conclusion.

A textual corruption that has hitherto escaped notice in the discussion about the allegiance of A<sup>b</sup> is φθορά in 1069 b 12. It occurs in numerous representatives of the α family including E, V<sup>d</sup> and H<sup>a</sup>, but is absent from A<sup>b</sup>, M and C. This error was removed from, but left conspicuous traces in the *vetustissimus* J (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 34), the Vindobonenses Phil gr. 64 and 66 (J<sup>a</sup> f. 425<sup>r</sup>, 1; J<sup>b</sup> f. 112<sup>v</sup>, 10), as well as in the Oxoniensis Collegii Corporis Christi 110 (O<sup>c</sup> f. 98<sup>v</sup>, 28). Thus A<sup>b</sup> sides in this passage against V<sup>d</sup> (f. 193<sup>r</sup>, 9), J *ante correctionem* and E (f. 291<sup>v</sup>, 29), preserving the correct reading φορά in line two on f. 463<sup>v</sup>. Since φθορά κατὰ τόπον does not make sense, it is also most easy to understand why this inferior lection did not creep into the contaminated representatives of the β family. In the latest scholarly literature it has been taken for granted that M, unlike C, is an uncontaminated descendant of the hyparchetype β, but it seems to me that this view is rather misleading.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, from perusing the literature one might even gain the impression that the alternative readings of the manuscript Taurinensis B VII 23 derive from different scribal hands. It should be pointed out that in books Kappa and Lambda the lections found in the margins and between the lines of C<sup>60</sup> were written by the copyist who also penned the main text. For the same rather idiosyncratic hand can be facily recognized throughout the folia 67<sup>r</sup>–92<sup>v</sup>.

Very striking is that the stichometric record discovered by Wilhelm von Christ<sup>61</sup> is fairly regularly continued in the Medicean codex throughout books Iōta, Kappa and in Lambda up to 1073 a 1 (f. 485<sup>r</sup>).<sup>62</sup> At the time of

<sup>58</sup> Cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, Stuttgart 1973, 35: "If contamination is present, we may be seriously misled. Suppose that the scribe of F, besides copying B, kept an eye on A and borrowed some readings from there ...".

<sup>59</sup> On the basis of his sample collations, which were very limited as far as the four final books of the *Metaphysics* were concerned, Professor D. Harlfinger noticed that M bears obvious signs of contamination. For some reason the relevant evidence, presented at the Sixth Symposium Aristotelicum, has not been discussed at all in the recent literature; cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 8, 23, 27 and e.g. S. Fazzo, 'Lo stemma codicum dei libri Kappa e Lambda della *Metafisica*: Una revisione necessaria', *Aevum* 84, 2010, 339–359.

<sup>60</sup> To the extent in which they survived the fire that devastated the Turin library in the night between the 25th and the 26th of January, 1904, and are still visible today.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Wilhelm von Christ, 'Kritische Beiträge zur *Metaphysik* des Aristoteles', *Sitz. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. histor. Cl.* 1885, Munich 1886, 411–417.

<sup>62</sup> One can effortlessly notice this by perusing ff. 377<sup>v</sup>–485<sup>r</sup> of cod. Laurentianus 87, 12.

its discovery Girolamo Vitelli agreed with von Christ;<sup>63</sup> later Werner Jaeger regarded it as a relic of Alexandrian scholarship characteristic of cod. Laurentianus 87, 12.<sup>64</sup> The stichometric notation is not present in any of the manuscripts representing the  $\alpha$  family;<sup>65</sup> thus it is hard to imagine how A<sup>b</sup> would have inherited it (in the final part of book Kappa and in Lambda) from an exemplar pertaining to that branch.

Notwithstanding, it has been stated that A<sup>b</sup> is closely related to J before the change in scribal hands which occurs at 1073 a1. It has been further asserted that the Medicean codex would be expected to agree with other independent manuscripts of the  $\alpha$  family, if the stemmatic conclusions of Professor Dieter Harlfinger regarding the section 1073 a1–1093 b 29 also apply

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Wilhelm von Christ mentioned “hervorstechende Anfangsbuchstaben” and provided the following very helpful explanation: “Wichtiger ist eine zweite, indes auf den ersten sorgfältiger geschriebenen Teil der Handschrift (– 1073 a1) beschränkte Eigentümlichkeit des cod. A<sup>b</sup> ... Nach der Absicht des Schreibers sollte dieser Buchstabe etwas an den Rand vortreten und ausserdem durch Grösse und durch rote Farbe (Mennig) vor den andern ausgezeichnet sein. Ausgeführt ist dieses aber nur auf einem kleineren Teil der Blätter, öfter ist bloss der Platz für den nachher auszumalenden Buchstaben leer gelassen worden.” Cf. Wilhelm von Christ, ‘Kritische Beiträge zur *Metaphysik* des Aristoteles’, *Sitz. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. histor. Cl.* 1885, Munich 1886, 415 and 411–412. For example the letters X and O (both protruding into the left margin), with which the sixth line on f. 484<sup>v</sup> and the ninth on f. 485<sup>r</sup> respectively begin, correspond exactly to von Christ’s description; similarly the  $\alpha$ l in l. 6 on f. 484<sup>r</sup>, which lacks the enlarged initial  $\alpha$ . In the right margin of f. 474<sup>v</sup> the letter o has been supplied in  $\delta\tau\omega\nu$  (1071 b 5), but at the beginning of the fifth line on the opposite manuscript page (f. 475<sup>r</sup>) the stichometric initial  $\chi$  of  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\upsilon$  (1071 b 8–9), which was left out to be added later, is still missing. On stichometric records see further Stephen White, ‘Opuscula and Opera in the Catalogue of Theophrastus’ Works’, in W. W. Fortenbaugh, G. Wöhrle (eds.), *On the Opuscula of Theophrastus*, Stuttgart 2002, 32; Jean Irigoin, ‘Traces de livres antiques dans trois manuscrits byzantins de Platon (B, D, F)’, in M. Joyal (ed.), *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition: Essays Presented to John Whittaker*, Aldershot 1997, 229–244; M. Schanz, ‘Zur Stichometrie’, *Hermes* 16, 1881, 309–315 and Ch. Graux, ‘Nouvelles recherches sur la stichometrie’, *Revue de philologie de littérature et d’histoire anciennes* N.S. 2, 1878, 97–143. For the use of stichometric markings in a Christian context cf. e.g. Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature*, Oxford—New York 2000, 87–88; on enlarged letters projecting into the margin cf. C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, London 1979, 17–18.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. W. von Christ, ‘Kritische Beiträge zur *Metaphysik* des Aristoteles’, *Sitz. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. histor. Cl.* 1885, Munich 1886, 416.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica*, ed. W. Jaeger, Oxford 1957, x: “stichometriae quoque aetate Alexandrina usitatae insunt vestigia”.

<sup>65</sup> By the way, it is equally missing from the other representatives of the  $\beta$  branch.





Florence, Laurentian Library, cod. Plut. 87.12, ff. 484<sup>v</sup>–485<sup>r</sup>  
 Particularly relevant are ll. 6, f. 484<sup>v</sup> and 9, f. 485<sup>r</sup> (main text)

Photo: Courtesy of the Laurentian Library

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to the preceding chapters of *Metaph.* Lambda and to the final part of book Kappa. The closest congener of A<sup>b</sup> from 1073 a1 οἶον onwards is according to Professor D. Harlfinger's stemma cod. Vaticanus Graecus 255 (V<sup>d</sup>).<sup>66</sup>

If one takes a look at the agreements between J and V<sup>d</sup> in book Lambda up to 1073 a1 οἶον, inspecting the relevant parts of A<sup>b</sup> as well, one perceives that cod. Laurentianus 87, 12 frequently disagrees with them. That this manuscript often enough transmits inferior lections is sufficiently well known; nevertheless, the Medicean codex repeatedly offers readings that are preferable to those transmitted by J and V<sup>d</sup>. Some of its characteristic lections are borne out by other witnesses.<sup>67</sup> In the subsequent section the readings of M and C are also listed, to provide some useful background information.<sup>68</sup>

1069 a 20

καὶ J (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 14), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 11), E (f. 291<sup>v</sup>, 3), M (f. 189<sup>v</sup>, 3), C (f. 82<sup>v</sup>, 1)  
 καὶν A<sup>b</sup> (f. 460<sup>v</sup>, 6), O<sup>c</sup> (f. 98<sup>v</sup>, 1), f correctus (fol. 271<sup>r</sup>, 26)  
 καὶ ἄν u (f. 331<sup>v</sup>, 4), V<sup>a</sup>, a (f. 91<sup>r</sup>, 6), C (p. 559 A–B), E (p. 393, 26)

1069 a 21

ἦ J (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 14), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 12), E (f. 291<sup>v</sup>, 4), C (f. 82<sup>v</sup>, 1), a (f. 91<sup>r</sup>, 7)  
 εἶτα τὸ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 460<sup>v</sup>, 7), Lat<sup>b</sup> *postea*  
 ἦ τὸ M (f. 189<sup>v</sup>, 4), c (f. 168<sup>r</sup>, 24), U<sup>c</sup> (f. 170<sup>v</sup>, 1)  
*et* Ar<sup>m</sup> (*quale et quantum*)<sup>69</sup>  
*aut* Ar<sup>n</sup> (*qualitas aut quantitas*)<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 27.

<sup>67</sup> In the ensuing section we do not attempt to list all the agreements of A<sup>b</sup> with other sources; the reader might find it helpful to additionally consult the critical apparatus and the preceding note 41.

<sup>68</sup> In the collation reports below the sigla A<sup>b</sup>, J and V<sup>d</sup> are, by way of exception, printed in bold-face type, to help focus the reader's attention.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, p. 1408, line 4. On Abū Bishr Mattā's rendering of πρῶτον and ποσόν in this passage cf. Soheil M. Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology in Arabic and Persian*, Leiden 1964, 89–90 and idem, *A Philosophical Lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969, 264 and 258.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, p. 1408, line two printed in the bottom margin, with note three.

1069 b 11

ἡ pr. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 463<sup>r</sup>, 9)

ἡ a (f. 91<sup>v</sup>, 9), E (p. 393<sup>r</sup>, 40), C (p. 559 D)

om. J (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 33), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 193<sup>r</sup>, 7), E (f. 291<sup>v</sup>, 28), M (f. 190<sup>r</sup>, 9–10), C (f. 83<sup>r</sup>, 3)

1070 b 7

στοιχειόν ἐστιν A<sup>b</sup> (f. 469<sup>r</sup>, 8), Lat<sup>b</sup> *elementum est*

στοιχείων J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 2), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 16), M (f. 191<sup>v</sup>, 13), C (f. 84<sup>r</sup>, 20)

1070 b 7

ὅν ἡ τὸ ἐν A<sup>b</sup> (f. 469<sup>r</sup>, 8–9. Interpunctit ὅν, ἡ τὸ ἐν.)

*ens et unum* Them<sup>71</sup> Ar<sup>u72</sup>

*unum et ens* Ar<sup>m73</sup>

ἐν ἡ τὸ ὅν J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 2), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 16), M (f. 191<sup>v</sup>, 14), C (f. 84<sup>r</sup>, 20)

1070 b 12

ὅλη A<sup>b</sup> (f. 469<sup>v</sup>, 7)

ἡ ὅλη J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 6), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 3), M (f. 191<sup>v</sup>, 19), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 3)

1070 b 20<sup>74</sup>

χρώμασι A<sup>b</sup> (f. 470<sup>r</sup>, 10–11), M (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 6–7), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 10)

χρώματι J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 12), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 11)

1070 b 21

καὶ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 470<sup>r</sup>, 14), Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>

om. J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 13), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 13), M (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 8), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 11)

<sup>71</sup> See R. Brague, *Thémistius: Paraphrase de la Métaphysique d'Aristote*. Livre Lambda traduit de l'hébreu et de l'arabe, Paris 1999, 66. Cf. Themistius, In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum librum Λ paraphrasis. Hebraice et Latine, ed. S. Landauer, Berlin 1903 (CAG vol. V, part 5), page nine (v—Tet) of the Hebrew text, lines 19 and 21. It should be noted that the Latin version of Moses Finzius revised by Samuel Landauer does not reflect the Hebrew word order printed in line nineteen on page nine, for it reads *unum atque ens* (CAG vol. V, part 5, 10, 36) instead of *ens atque unum*.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, p. 1512, line one printed in the lower margin, with note three.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1512, line five of the main text.

<sup>74</sup> The reading χρώμασι has been added by the Italian humanist and Florentine professor Petrus Victorius (Piero Vettori, 1499–1585) in the right margin on f. 92<sup>v</sup> of the fourth volume of the Greek *editio princeps* held by the Bavarian State Library in Munich, shelf mark 2 Inc. c. a. 3161 n-4, 5 (GW 2334, Hain 1657, Pell 1175). See Aristoteles, Magna moralia, ed. F. Susemihl, Leipzig 1883, VII: "... variae lectiones, quas in editionis Aldinae Monacensis aliquando ab ipso possessae marginibus adscripsit vir summus Petrus Victorius". Cf. W. Rüdiger, *Petrus Victorius aus Florenz: Studien zu einem Lebensbilde*, Halle on the Saale 1896, 99 with note one and F. Niccolai, *Pier Vettori* (1499–1585), Florence 1912, 281.



1070 b 25

ἰστάν J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 16), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 16), E (f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 17), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 14)

ἰστῶν<sup>75</sup> A<sup>b</sup> (f. 470<sup>v</sup>, 1), M (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 11), E<sup>b</sup> (f. 230<sup>v</sup>, 13), E<sup>s</sup> (f. 144<sup>v</sup>, 9),<sup>76</sup> H<sup>a</sup> ut vid.

(f. 81<sup>r</sup>, lin. 28 columnae sinistrae), I<sup>b</sup> (f. 369<sup>v</sup>, 16), P<sup>b</sup> (f. 206<sup>r</sup>, 15)

1070 b 25

καὶ οὐσία A<sup>b</sup> (f. 470<sup>v</sup>, 2), a (f. 92<sup>v</sup>, 20), C (p. 560 D), E (p. 394, 33), Lat<sup>b</sup> *et substantia*

οὐσα J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 16), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 17), M (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 12), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 14), E (f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 18)

1070 b 29–30

καὶ δὴ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή V<sup>d</sup> (f. 196<sup>r</sup>, 2–3)

καὶ δι' εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 19)

om. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 470, 13)

καὶ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή M (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 16–17), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 18–19)

1071 a 1

ἐκεῖνα A<sup>b</sup> (f. 471<sup>r</sup>, 10), M (f. 192<sup>v</sup>, 2), C (f. 85<sup>r</sup>, 3), E (α littera supra lineam alia manu addita, f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 28)

ἐκεῖνα J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 24<sup>77</sup>), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 196<sup>r</sup>, 11), E (f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 28)

1071 a 14<sup>78</sup>

εἰ ἔτι A<sup>b</sup> (f. 472<sup>v</sup>, 2)

εἴ τι J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 34), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 196<sup>v</sup>, 9), E (f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 40), M (f. 192<sup>v</sup>, 16), C (f. 85<sup>r</sup>, 15)

1071 a 23

τὸ alt. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 473<sup>r</sup>, 13), M (f. 193<sup>r</sup>, 4)

om. J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 41), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 197<sup>r</sup>, 1), C (f. 85<sup>v</sup>, 2)

<sup>75</sup> The form ἰστῶν, pertaining to the thematic verb ἰστάω (collateral form of ἴστημι current in the Koine), appears in both branches of the direct manuscript tradition. Cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v. ἰστάω, Schwyzer I, 688 and e.g. Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor priores commentaria (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca IX), ed. H. Diels, Berlin 1882, 315, 19–20 τὸ κινεῖν τὰ κινούμενα καὶ τὸ ἰστῶν τὰ ἰστάμενα. This agreement of A<sup>b</sup> with M against C, J, V<sup>d</sup> and other manuscripts has not been mentioned in the recent literature.

<sup>76</sup> If in doubt about the shape of the final letters cf. ποιῶν penned by the same copyist on f. 145<sup>v</sup>, 7 of codex Escorialensis Y III 18.

<sup>77</sup> On the palaeographical abbreviation of the diphthong αἰ cf. Grigorij Filimonovič Cereteli, *Sokraščeniija v' grečeskich' rukopisjach' preimuščestvenno po datirovannym' rukopisjam' S.-Peterburga i Moskvy*, Saint Petersburg 1904, repr. Hildesheim 1969, plate I.

<sup>78</sup> The lection εἰ ἔτι has been added by Petrus Victorius in the left margin on f. 93<sup>r</sup> of the *editio princeps*. The book in question, which he once owned, is currently preserved by the Bavarian State Library in Munich; cf. *supra*, note 74. On Renaissance editions formerly comprised in Victorius' library see further Paul D. Brandes, *A History of Aristotle's Rhetoric with a Bibliography of Early Printings*, Metuchen, N J—London 1989, 82, n. 17.

## 1071a24

εἰδῆ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 473<sup>r</sup>, 15), J (ε et ι alia manu sub lineam additae sunt, f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 41)<sup>79</sup>

ῥῆδῆ J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 41), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 197<sup>r</sup>, 2)

τᾶ εἰδῆ M (f. 193<sup>r</sup>, 5), C (f. 85<sup>v</sup>, 2)

## 1071b1

αὶ ἀρχαὶ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 474<sup>r</sup>, 15), M (f. 193<sup>r</sup>, 20), C (f. 85<sup>v</sup>, 15)

ἀρχαὶ J (f. 186<sup>v</sup>, 11), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 197<sup>v</sup>, 3), E (f. 293<sup>r</sup>, 16)

## 1071b12

ἔσται A<sup>b</sup> (f. 475<sup>v</sup>, 4), M (f. 193<sup>v</sup>, 10), C (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, 3)

ἔσται J (f. 186<sup>v</sup>, 19), V<sup>d</sup> (197<sup>v</sup>, 16), E (f. 293<sup>r</sup>, 26)

## 1071b13

ἔσται J (f. 186<sup>v</sup>, 19), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 197<sup>v</sup>, 17)

ἔσται A<sup>b</sup> (f. 475<sup>v</sup>, 6), M (f. 193<sup>v</sup>, 11), C (f. 86<sup>r</sup>, 4), E (f. 293<sup>r</sup>, 27)

## 1072a11–12

εἶναι ἀεὶ ἐνεργοῦν A<sup>b</sup> (f. 479<sup>v</sup>, 4–5)

ἐνεργοῦν εἶναι J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 5), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 199<sup>r</sup>, 2), E (f. 293<sup>v</sup>, 14)

ἐνεργοῦν M (f. 194<sup>v</sup>, 8), C (f. 86<sup>v</sup>, 15)

## 1072a29

διότι pr. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 481<sup>r</sup>, 9), E γρ. (f. 293<sup>v</sup>, 31 in margine manu rec. add.)

ὅτι J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 18), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 199<sup>v</sup>, 7), E (f. 293<sup>v</sup>, 31), M (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 5), C (f. 87<sup>r</sup>, 9)

## 1072a33

τὸ pr. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 481<sup>v</sup>, 8)

om. J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 21), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 199<sup>v</sup>, 12), E (f. 293<sup>v</sup>, 34), M (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 9), C (f. 87<sup>r</sup>, 13)

## 1072b2–3

καὶ τινός V<sup>d</sup> supra lin. (f. 200<sup>r</sup>, 2), J<sup>a</sup> primo (f. 427<sup>r</sup>, 24)

τινός A<sup>b</sup> (f. 482<sup>r</sup>, 10)

om. J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 24), V<sup>d</sup> initio (f. 200<sup>r</sup>, 2), C (f. 87<sup>r</sup>, 17)

in lacuna omisit M (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 13)

## 1072b3

δῆ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 482<sup>r</sup>, 12), M (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 14)

δῆ C (f. 87<sup>r</sup>, 18)

δὲ J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 25), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 200<sup>r</sup>, 3)

## 1072b4

καὶ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 482<sup>v</sup>, 1)

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica*. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1995, 325.

om. J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 26), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 200<sup>r</sup>, 5), M (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 15), C (f. 87<sup>r</sup>, 19)

1072b5

πρωτη A<sup>b</sup> (f. 482<sup>v</sup>, 2)

ἡ πρωτη J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 26), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 200<sup>r</sup>, 5), C in inferiorem marginem ipse addidit  
scriba (f. 87<sup>r</sup>, 22)

in lacuna omiserunt M (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 15), C initio (f. 87<sup>r</sup>, 19)

1072b15

οἷα A<sup>b</sup> (f. 483<sup>r</sup>, 11), M (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 3), C (f. 87<sup>v</sup>, 6)

οἷα τε J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 33), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 200<sup>r</sup>, 17), C varia lectio in marg. add. (f. 87<sup>v</sup>)

1072b16

ἡδονῇ ἡ M (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 5), C (f. 87<sup>v</sup>, 8), V<sup>k</sup> (f. 151<sup>v</sup>, 15)

ἡ ἡδονῇ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 483<sup>v</sup>, 4), J (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 34–35), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 200<sup>v</sup>, 2), E (f. 294<sup>r</sup>, 6)

1072b24

εὖ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 484<sup>v</sup>, 5), M (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 15), C (f. 87<sup>v</sup>, 16), E (f. 294<sup>r</sup>, 14), J supra lin. (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 41)

om. V<sup>d</sup> (f. 200<sup>v</sup>, 13–14), J initio (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 41)

1072b27

ἐκεῖνος A<sup>b</sup> (f. 485<sup>r</sup>, 1), f (fol. 274<sup>r</sup>, 14), J<sup>a</sup> (f. 427<sup>v</sup>, 12)

ἐκεῖνο J (f. 187<sup>v</sup>, 2), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 200<sup>v</sup>, 15), M (f. 195<sup>v</sup>, 17), C (f. 87<sup>v</sup>, 18)

1070a16

τε A<sup>b</sup> (f. 467<sup>r</sup>, 6), Recensionis Gullielmi de Moerbeka versio vulgata

om. J (f. 185<sup>v</sup>, 23), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 194<sup>v</sup>, 2), E (f. 292<sup>r</sup>, 23), M (f. 191<sup>r</sup>, 8), C (f. 83<sup>v</sup>, 17), Lat<sup>a</sup>,  
Recensionis Gullielmi de Moerbeka versio Palatina

With no effort one can see that between J and V<sup>d</sup> on the one hand and A<sup>b</sup> on the other there is much more disagreement than agreement. Moreover, the consonance in 1072b16 may be coincidental or result from horizontal transmission.

In the previously listed passage 1070a16 A<sup>b</sup> in all probability agrees with a valuable *deperditus* used in the thirteenth century by William of Moerbeke supplementarily to our *vetustissimus*, cod. Vind. Phil. 100. The Vienna manuscript lacks the particle τε, as can be seen in line twenty-three on folio 185 *verso*. No equivalent of this particle is found in the *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'* either.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, from the witnesses for the

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica*. *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'* (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 2), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1976, 207, 8.

text of the *Recensio Guillelmi de Moerbeka* only the manuscripts Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 1060 (*Da*) and Patavinus bibl. Univ. 453 (*Op*) reportedly omit the conjunction *que*.<sup>81</sup> These codices represent, in the section we are concerned with, the earlier version (*versio Palatina*)<sup>82</sup> of Moerbeke's recension. Thus it appears that the Flemish scholar added the copulative conjunction at a later stage of his work, when he is believed to have had access to additional Greek manuscript evidence.<sup>83</sup> Worth bearing in mind is also that neither *M* nor *C* preserves this lection. It should further be noted that *A<sup>b</sup>* does not continually share errors that occur in *J*, nor constantly repeat the mistakes found in *V<sup>d</sup>*.

In 1070 a 32 *M* shares the inferior lection  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{o}\tilde{\omega}$  with several independent codices of the  $\alpha$  family, *inter alios* with *V<sup>d</sup>*, which allegedly is related to *A<sup>b</sup>* in this section, against *A<sup>b</sup>*, *C*, *J* and *E* ante correctionem. In the recent literature it has been stated that *C* agrees with *M* in transmitting  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{o}\tilde{\omega}$ ,

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka* (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1995, 249, apparatus criticus ad p. 249, 79. This agreement of Moerbeke's recension with *A<sup>b</sup>* against *M*, *C* and numerous other manuscripts is not mentioned in G. Vuillemin-Diem's *Graeco-Latin apparatus*. William of Moerbeke's additional Greek manuscript is believed to have incorporated readings pertaining to both main branches of the direct tradition; cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.1, 186.

<sup>82</sup> On the differences between the *versio Palatina* and the *versio vulgata* cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka* (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.1), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1995, especially 210–211 and 235–236, as well as G. Vuillemin-Diem, 'Recensio Palatina und Recensio Vulgata—Wilhelm von Moerbekes doppelte Redaktion der Metaphysikübersetzung' in A. Zimmermann (ed.), *Aristotelisches Erbe im arabisch-lateinischen Mittelalter: Übersetzungen, Kommentare, Interpretationen* (Miscellanea mediaevalia 18), Berlin—New York 1986, 289–366. According to G. Vuillemin-Diem the manuscript *Op* mirrors this strain of the tradition less accurately, but is, notwithstanding, useful, given that *Da* shows no signs of contamination: "Der dritte Teil hängt mit der Überlieferung von *Da* zusammen. Jedoch enthält der gesamte Text von *Op* Zeichen von Bearbeitung, außerdem nachträgliche Kontaminationen mit der Anonyma und, in den beiden Teilen, die primär von *P<sup>i</sup>* unabhängig sind, einen sekundären Einfluß aus dieser Überlieferung. [...] Während *Da* jedoch direkt aus dieser Quelle stammt oder zum mindesten sie ohne deutlichen Einfluß einer anderen Texttradition wiedergibt, ist für *Op* noch ein weiteres Zwischenglied anzunehmen, in welchem der aus der gemeinsamen Quelle stammende Text mit Hilfe von zwei Zusatzquellen ... bearbeitet, korrigiert, verändert wurde ... Durch seine Übereinstimmungen mit *Da*, die trotz aller Mängel recht weitgehend sind, kann der Text von *Op* die gemeinsame Quelle rekonstruieren helfen. Insbesondere kann er genuine Sonderlesarten von *Da*, die über die gemeinsame Quelle auf das Original zurückgehen ... bestätigen" (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.1, 106, 146–147).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka* (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.1), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1995, 236: "Was die zweite Textform angeht, so ist es dagegen sicher, daß einige ihrer spezifischen Lesarten nur nachträglich mit Hilfe einer von / verschiedenen Quelle gefunden werden konnten."

but this assertion is unfounded, as can be seen in line nine on f. 84<sup>r</sup> of the Turin manuscript. It has also been claimed that in this passage the text of E coincides with that of J, but an inspection of this Paris manuscript shows that the negative οὐ has been added by another hand above line thirty-six on f. 292<sup>r</sup>. Some of the representatives of the α branch that transmit ὥς οὐ are older than M.<sup>84</sup>

1070 a 32

δ' ὥς C (f. 84<sup>r</sup>, 9), E initio (f. 292<sup>r</sup>, 36), A<sup>b</sup> (f. 468<sup>r</sup>, 9)

δ' ὥς J (f. 185<sup>v</sup>, 34)

δ' ὥς οὐ M (f. 191<sup>v</sup>, 2), P<sup>b</sup> (f. 205<sup>v</sup>, 25)

δ' ὥς οὐ E<sup>b</sup> (f. 230<sup>r</sup>, 34), H<sup>a</sup> (f. 80<sup>v</sup>, col. dext., 37), I<sup>b</sup> (f. 369<sup>r</sup>, 9), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 195<sup>r</sup>, 3), E  
post correctionem (f. 292<sup>r</sup>, 36)

δ' ὥς οὐ E<sup>s</sup> (f. 144<sup>r</sup>, 1)

Under the given circumstances it would be rather naive to take it for granted that in this section M accurately reflects the reading of the papyrus witness. For one ought to ascertain first of all, as far as this particular passage is concerned, in which branch of the tradition the contamination had its source. Obviously, the closest common relative of M and C was not copied directly from the β hyparchetype.<sup>85</sup> One will therefore have to accept that certain distinctive readings of M and C may well be due to the more recent ancestry of these manuscripts, not to the progenitor of the β family. It should be noted that the absence of such lections from A<sup>b</sup> evidently does not prove, in instances in which A<sup>b</sup> and the *vetustissimi* of the α branch preserve the true reading,<sup>86</sup> that the Laurentianus has changed allegiance. For the true readings can survive independently in *codices vetustissimi* of both branches.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> For further details cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 27 and 10.

<sup>85</sup> The β tradition had already split at an earlier stage, cf. e.g. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 22: "Der Text in Y ist selbstverständlich aufgrund seines die anderen Zeugen um Jahrhunderte überragenden Alters von den restlichen vier Handschriften unabhängig."

<sup>86</sup> See e.g. 1070 b 10, where both M (f. 191<sup>v</sup>, 17) and C (f. 84<sup>r</sup>, 2) omit the demonstrative adverb ὥς, which is not absent from A<sup>b</sup> (f. 469<sup>v</sup>, 2), E (f. 292<sup>r</sup>, 4) and J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 5). On the correct reading cf. e.g. *Metaph.* Θ 8, 1049 b 12, *Ph.* A 9, 192 a 25 and *Pol.* E 8, 1307 b 37.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. e.g. Ulrich Knoche, *Die Überlieferung Juvenals*, Berlin 1926, 6: "die übereinstimmung einer hs mit II oder ω im richtigen beweist noch nicht ihre abhängigkeit von dem überlieferungsstrange, mit dem sie übereinstimmt; denn das richtige könnte sich ja in beiden recensionen—sei es im text oder als variante—erhalten haben."

Similarly, in the recent literature it has been hinted, on the basis of the consensus between M and C, that the lection κινήσεως at 1069 b 2 truly reflects the papyrean *deperditus*. It ought to be mentioned in this connection that this inferior reading also occurs in codex Escorialensis Y III 18, which has been dated to the first half of the thirteenth century<sup>88</sup> and thus is older than M and C. Moreover, it is equally present in several other, younger independent manuscripts of the α family. Manifestly, the picture is slightly more complex than it has been depicted after the inspection of comparatively few codices:<sup>89</sup>

1069 b 2

κοινή A<sup>b</sup> (f. 462<sup>v</sup>, 5), E (f. 291<sup>v</sup>, 20), J (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 26–27), J<sup>b</sup> (f. 112<sup>v</sup>, 2), L<sup>c</sup> (f. 119<sup>r</sup>, 20)  
κινήσεως M (f. 190<sup>r</sup>, 1), C (f. 82<sup>v</sup>, 16), E<sup>b</sup> (f. 229<sup>v</sup>, 26), E<sup>s</sup> (f. 142<sup>v</sup>, 6), H<sup>a</sup> (f. 80<sup>r</sup>, col.  
dext., 43), P<sup>b</sup> (f. 205<sup>r</sup>, 13), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 192<sup>v</sup>, 15)  
κοινή κινήσεως U<sup>c</sup> (f. 170<sup>v</sup>, 23)<sup>90</sup>

At 1070 b 22 M interestingly agrees in error not only with *recentiores* of the α family, but also with the commentary of pseudo-Alexander and with that of pseudo-Philoponus, which is penned in its margins:

καὶ τῶν A<sup>b</sup> (f. 470<sup>r</sup>, 16–17), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 12), E (f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 15), J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 14)  
καὶ τὸ M (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 9), E<sup>s</sup> (f. 144<sup>v</sup>, 7), J<sup>b</sup> (f. 114<sup>r</sup>, 17), L<sup>c</sup> (f. 121<sup>r</sup>, 10), Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (681, 1 ed.  
M. Hayduck), Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup> (M f. 192<sup>r</sup>, col. in margine descr., 16; J<sup>c</sup> f. 175<sup>r</sup>, 18;<sup>91</sup>  
cod. Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 49, f. 141<sup>r</sup>, 10)

<sup>88</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 10.

<sup>89</sup> For a valid and reliable study of the manuscript tradition one cannot discard any of the sources, let alone a fairly large group of independent witnesses. On the importance of variant-carriers see Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford 1958, repr. 1972, 19. Cf. further e.g. P. van Reenen, M. van Mulken (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology*, Amsterdam 1996, ix: "All contributors further agree on the fact that in working with a manuscript tradition, every member of the tradition, even its worst representative, should be integrated."

<sup>90</sup> Codex Parisinus Graecus 1861, designated through the siglum c, exhibits in line 33 on f. 168<sup>r</sup> a similar lection, the first syllable of the adjective κοινή having been altered by an itacistic error. The subsequent word, on the other hand, viz. the genitive κινήσεως, is spelled correctly.

<sup>91</sup> Both codex Vindobonensis Phil. 189 (f. 175<sup>r</sup>, 18–19) and cod. Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 49 (f. 141<sup>r</sup>, 9–12) exhibit ἐπεὶ φησὶν οὐ μόνον τὰ κατατεταγμένα ἡμῖν εἰσὶν αἵτια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς οἷον τὸ κινεῖν καὶ ποιητικὸν ὅπερ οὐ συντέτακται ἡμῖν, δῆλον ὅτι διαφέρει ἀρχὴ καὶ στοιχεῖον. Cf. *Ioannis Philoponi breves sed apprime doctae et utiles expositiones in omnes XIII Aristotelis libros eos qui vocantur Metaphysici quas Franciscus Patritius de Graecis Latinas fecerat*, Ferrariae 1583, repr. Stuttgart—Bad Cannstatt 1991 (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca: versiones Latinae temporum resuscitarum litterarum, vol. 2), f. 49<sup>v</sup>, col. dext., 35–39: "Cum inquit non solum ordinatae a nobis causae sunt, sed etiam externum, ut efficiens et movens, quod non coordinatur nobis, clarum quod differunt principium et elementum ...".

A similar consonance between the main text of **M** and its marginal commentary is met with in 1071a 4, where **C** also shares the inferior lection:

1071a 4

ἀρχαὶ **A**<sup>b</sup> (f. 471<sup>r</sup>, 19), **E** (f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 31), **J** (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 27), **V**<sup>d</sup> (f. 196<sup>r</sup>, 15), **Ps-Al**<sup>c</sup> (p. 682, 5 ed. M. Hayduck)

αἱ ἀρχαὶ **M** (f. 192<sup>v</sup>, 6), **C** (f. 85<sup>r</sup>, 6), **Ps-Al**<sup>p</sup> (p. 682, 20, 13 ed. M. Hayduck), **Ps-Phil**<sup>p</sup> (**M** f. 192<sup>v</sup>, col. margini sinistrae ascr., 17; **J**<sup>c</sup> f. 175<sup>v</sup>, 7; cod. Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 49, f. 141<sup>v</sup>, 14)

Likewise, in 1069a 31 **M** harmonizes with the reading initially written in **C**, with the corrected manuscript **E**<sup>b</sup>, with **J**<sup>c</sup> (which transmits the commentary of pseudo-Philoponus on ff. 130<sup>r</sup>–213<sup>v</sup>) as well as with the exegetical treatises of pseudo-Alexander and pseudo-Philoponus:

ἀἰδιος ἡ δὲ **A**<sup>b</sup> (f. 462<sup>r</sup>, 2), **E** (f. 291<sup>v</sup>, 13), **J** (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 21), **V**<sup>d</sup> (f. 192<sup>v</sup>, 6), **C** (f. 82<sup>v</sup>, his verbis in margine appositis), **E**<sup>b</sup> ante corr. (f. 229<sup>v</sup>, 20)

om. **M** (f. 189<sup>v</sup>, 13), **J**<sup>c</sup> (f. 98<sup>r</sup>, 11), **C** initio (f. 82<sup>v</sup>, 10), **Ps-Al**<sup>p</sup> (pp. 670, 30 et 671, 20–21 ed. M. Hayduck), **Ps-Phil**<sup>p</sup> (**M** f. 189<sup>v</sup>, lin. 47 in margine scripta; **J**<sup>c</sup> f. 174<sup>r</sup>, 17; cod. Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 49 f. 139<sup>r</sup>, 6)

ἀἰδιος ἡ δὲ expunxerunt correctores codicum **C** atque **E**<sup>b</sup>

These agreements of **M** with the Byzantine commentaries do not seem to be entirely accidental.<sup>92</sup>

Another interesting fact relates to an ancient manner of preserving the correct sequence of papyrus rolls. At the end of a scroll the opening words of the next one were set down for the convenience of the reader;<sup>93</sup> this was particularly advantageous in the case of longer writings. As Wilhelm von Christ has pointed out,<sup>94</sup> cod. Laurentianus 87, 12 contains such *reclamantes* at the end of *Metaph.* Gamma, Ēta and Iōta, where one can respectively read:

<sup>92</sup> This issue would deserve a more detailed investigation.

<sup>93</sup> On the use of *reclamantes* in Greek papyri cf. e.g. Jean Bingen, review of *Aperçus de paléographie homérique: À propos des papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée des collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain*, by W. Lameere, *Chronique d'Égypte* 36, 1961, 216–218, S. West, 'Reclamantes in Greek Papyri', *Scriptorium* 17, 1963, 314–315, J. Jouanna, 'Remarque sur les réclames dans la tradition Hippocratique: Analyse archéologique du texte des manuscrits', *Ktema* 2, 1977, 381–396, as well as J. Irigoin, 'Traces de livres antiques dans trois manuscrits byzantins de Platon (B, D, F)', in M. Joyal (ed.), *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition: Essays Presented to John Whittaker*, Aldershot 1997, 233. See further M. Manfredi (ed.), *Papiri dell' Odissea*, Florence 1979, 33, 46 and M. L. West, *Studies in the Text and Tradition of the Iliad*, Munich 2001, 116 regarding *P. Ashm.* inv. 34 4B 74/N(1)a (i–ii).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Arist. *Metaph.*, ed. W. v. Christ, Lipsiae 21895, repr. 1931, VI–VII: "Originem duxit liber ex voluminibus papyraceis ... In eodem archetypo ne singulos quidem libros maiore intervallo diremptos fuisse inde concludo, quod librorum Δ Θ Κ prima verba bis, et in initio sequentis et in fine antecedentis libri, scripta sunt."

ἀρχὴ λέγεται (f. 159<sup>r</sup>, 6–7)

περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρώτως ὄντος καὶ πρὸς ὃ αἱ ἄλλαι κατηγορίαι τοῦ ὄντος ἀναφέρονται, εἴρηται περὶ τῆς οὐσίας· (f. 348<sup>r</sup>, 1–4)

ὅτι δὲ ἡ σοφία περὶ ἀρχὰς ἐπιστήμη (f. 412<sup>v</sup>, 3–4)

On the other hand, cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. exhibits *reclamantes* (at the end of books Gamma and Ēta) as follows:

ἀρχὴ λέγεται (f. 73<sup>r</sup>, 21)

περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρώτως ὄντος, καὶ πρὸς ὃ αἱ ἄλλαι κατηγορίαι τοῦ ὄντος ἀναφέρονται, εἴρηται περὶ τῆς οὐσίας (f. 145<sup>v</sup>, 1–4)

Leaving minor issues of punctuation aside, one can easily see that the first two *reclamantes* are identical in both manuscripts. Noteworthy, in the Milan codex there is no trace of any ancient catchword at the end of book Iōta (f. 172<sup>v</sup>). Moreover, as one can observe by inspecting ff. 189<sup>r</sup>, 202<sup>r</sup> and 225<sup>r</sup>, no further *reclamans* occurs in **M** right up to the very end of the *Metaphysics*. Bearing in mind that this manuscript most accurately transmits in its earlier part the *reclamantes* also found in **A<sup>b</sup>**, their total absence from books Iōta through Nȳ is of some interest. It should be further mentioned that the manuscript page of **M** on which book Iōta ends without any catch-line is facing f. 173<sup>r</sup>, on whose upper part the authorship of the hermeneutical text written in the margins abruptly changes and book Kappa begins.<sup>95</sup> In any case, it is worth noticing that a further indicator of stemmatic proximity between **M** and the exemplar of **A<sup>b</sup>** that pertained to the β family, which was taken for granted by scholars for a long time,<sup>96</sup> is missing in the final four books.

<sup>95</sup> For a photographic reproduction of f. 173<sup>r</sup> see Stefan Alexandru, 'Reflections Regarding Milan Manuscripts of the Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Ascribed to Georgios Pachymeres', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 31, 2001, plate II. Cf. idem, 'A New Manuscript of Pseudo-Philoponus' Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Containing a Hitherto Unknown Ascription of the Work', *Phronesis* 44, 1999, 347–352.

<sup>96</sup> It has been assumed that **M**, similarly to **A<sup>b</sup>**, exhibits in the margins solely Alexander's partly genuine commentary on the *Metaphysics* (which was first entirely published in a critical edition by Hermann Bonitz in 1847). Cf. e.g. A. Martini, D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, t. I, Mediolani 1906, repr. Hildesheim 1978, 429, S. Bernardinello, *Eliminatio codicum della Metafisica di Aristotele*, Padua 1970, 107 and D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Metaphysik*', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 33, n. 63.



The traces of the papyrus ancestor thus are very present in A<sup>b</sup> throughout books Iōta, Kappa and in Lambda up to 1073 a1 οἶον. In the parts of M that primarily interest us, on the other hand, there is not a shred of such bibliological evidence that would suggest a remarkable stemmatic closeness to the hyparchetype β.

The graphic peculiarities indicating the ancient pedigree of the Laurentianus are borne out by textual considerations. Allegedly the closest congener of A<sup>b</sup> in the final part of book Kappa and throughout Lambda is codex Vaticanus Graecus 255 (V<sup>d</sup>). An inspection of f. 192<sup>r</sup>, transmitting the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth book, actually shows that solely A<sup>b</sup> exhibits the true readings<sup>97</sup> ἐφεξῆς and τὸ ἐφεξῆς in 1068 b 33 and 1069 a 13 respectively:

1068 b 33

ἐφεξῆς A<sup>b</sup> (f. 459<sup>r</sup>, 13), cf. Ph. E 3, 227 a 1

ἐξῆς E (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 30), J (f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 39), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 191<sup>v</sup>, 3), M (f. 188<sup>v</sup>, 9), C (f. 82<sup>r</sup>, 3)

1069 a 13

τὸ ἐφεξῆς A<sup>b</sup> (f. 460<sup>r</sup>, 4)

πρὸς τὸ ἐφεξῆς E (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 46), J (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 10–11), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 6), M (f. 189<sup>r</sup>, 1), C (f. 82<sup>r</sup>, 18)

Particularly worth noting here is that M and C, whose agreement is supposed to reliably indicate readings belonging to the β tradition, exhibit in these passages the mistaken lections found in the *vetustissimi* of the α branch and in V<sup>d</sup>. Such agreements in error betray the influence of the family α, thus being symptoms of contamination.<sup>98</sup>

Especially useful in this connection is also the examination of a further witness belonging to the β branch. Codex Parisinus Suppl. gr. 687 contains at its outset *membra disiecta* of a lost manuscript of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Y). They were brought to Paris by Minoïde Mynas (Μηνῶς Κωνσταντῖνος Μινωίδης, 1790–1860),<sup>99</sup> who also discovered *inter alia* Galen's Εἰσαγωγή

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford 1958, repr. 1972, 19: “if it alone has preserved the original in one passage, we are bound to reckon with the same possibility in all the readings peculiar to it.”

<sup>98</sup> On manuscript contamination cf. e.g. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence 1952, repr. 2003, 111–183.

<sup>99</sup> See H. Mutschmann, ‘Vergessenes und Übersehenes’, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 28, 1908, column 1328. Cf. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. III, Paris 1888, 299.

διαλεκτική.<sup>100</sup> Due to their age these fragments rank amongst the particularly prominent sources of the direct tradition<sup>101</sup> and are nowadays the oldest surviving representatives of the β family.<sup>102</sup>

If one now compares cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. with the earliest surviving descendants of the two main hyparchetypes in *Metaph.* K 1, 1059 a 18 – 2, 1060 a 15, it becomes evident that this manuscript repeatedly shares inferior readings with witnesses of the α family against Y and A<sup>b</sup>.

1059 a 30

ἀπόδειξις ἐστιν E (f. 282<sup>v</sup>, 29), J (f. 178<sup>r</sup>, 33), M (f. 173<sup>r</sup>, 17), C (f. 67<sup>v</sup>, 5)

om. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 414<sup>r</sup>, 10), Y (f. 1<sup>r</sup>, 11)

1059 b 23

τὰ καλούμενα E initio (f. 283<sup>r</sup>, 19), J (f. 178<sup>v</sup>, 20), A<sup>b</sup> (f. 416<sup>r</sup>, 15), Y (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, 7), C (f. 68<sup>r</sup>, 12)<sup>103</sup>

τὰς καλουμένας E alia manu corr. (f. 283<sup>r</sup>, 19), M (f. 174<sup>r</sup>, 11)

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Minoïde Mynas [τοῦ Μ. Μηνᾶ] (ed.), *Γαληνοῦ εἰσαγωγή διαλεκτική*, Paris 1844. See further Μινωίδου Μηνᾶ (ed.), *Φιλοστράτου περὶ γυμναστικής*. *Ανεύρηται, διώρθωται, μεταπέφρασται ἐς τὴν Γαλλικὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἥδη τετύπωται*, Paris 1858 and H. Omont, 'Minoïde Mynas et ses missions en Orient (1840–1855)', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 40, 1916, 337–422.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Metaphysik', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 9–11. Unfortunately no papyrus fragments of the *Metaphysics* have yet come to light; for a tiny scrap preserving an extremely small part of *De caelo* cf. A. Papathomas, 'Aristoteles, *De caelo* 270 b 31–33: Der erste Beleg auf Papyrus (P. Vindob. Barbara 22)', *Wiener Studien* 116, 2003, 97–100. On other papyrus fragments of Aristotelian texts cf. e.g. F. Adorno et al. (eds.), *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini: Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina*. Parte I, vol. 1\*, Florence 1989, 24–25 and 251–338.

<sup>102</sup> For some brief remarks cf. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Metaphysik', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, repr. 2009, 11, 22, 23, 27 and 16. An interesting aspect not yet touched upon is that in *Metaph.* I 6, 1056 b 32–33 Y transmits τοῖς πολλοῖς (f. 2<sup>v</sup>, 11), agreeing with E, J, C (f. 63<sup>v</sup>, 21), Lat<sup>a</sup> (*multis*), Lat<sup>s</sup> (*multis*) and the Arabic version of Ustāth (*multitudini*) against A<sup>b</sup> (f. 401<sup>r</sup>, 13–14) and M (f. 168<sup>v</sup>, 2). Cf. Maurice Bouyges (ed.), *Averroès: Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, vol. 1\*, Beirut <sup>3</sup>1990, 1343, l. 4, n. 2 (Bibliotheca Arabica scholasticorum, série arabe, t. VII).

<sup>103</sup> See Arist. *GA* 731 a 3–4: κύημα τὰ καλούμενα σπέρματα. Cf. D. H. *Ant. Rom.* 4.15.3: ... ἐορτήν τινα καὶ ταύτην ἐν τοῖς πάνσι τιμίαν καταστησάμενος, τὰ καλούμενα Παγανάλια. On the grammar of the passage see B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek: From Homer to Demosthenes*, New York [ca. 1900–1911], repr. Groningen 1980, 56: "The copula (copulative verb) often agrees with the predicate. Cf. 'The wages of sin is death.' This is true also when the copula is in the form of a participle." See further Schwyzler II, 608 regarding "Attraktion des Verbs an das Prädikativ", Guy L. Cooper III, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. II, Ann Arbor (MI) 1998, 1023, § 63.6.1 A and K. W. Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen*, Erster Theil, Zweites Heft: *Syntax*, Berlin <sup>5</sup>1873: "Wenn Subjekt und Prädikat von verschiedenem Genus (wie Numerus) sind, so richtet sich ein sie etwa verbindendes ὢν (oder καλούμενος) seltener nach dem Subject als nach dem Prädicat." For additional evidence cf. Kühner-Gerth I, 76–77.

1059b31

πάν Α<sup>b</sup> (416<sup>v</sup>, 13), Y (f. 1<sup>v</sup>, 15), C (f. 68<sup>r</sup>, 19–20), Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (637, 17 ed. M. Hayduck)  
πάντα E (f. 283<sup>r</sup>, 27), J (f. 178<sup>v</sup>, 26), M (f. 174<sup>r</sup>, 20)

In the rest of book Kappa and beyond the manuscript M agrees in error with representatives of the α family many times, e.g.:

1061a1

τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔκαστον Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 421<sup>v</sup>, 8)  
τῶν τρόπων ἔκαστον E (f. 284<sup>r</sup>, 18), J (f. 179<sup>v</sup>, 9), M (f. 176<sup>r</sup>, 14), C (f. 70<sup>r</sup>, 5),  
Lat<sup>s</sup> ut vid. (*secundum unumquemque modorum*)

1063a21

συναληθεύεσθαι Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 433<sup>v</sup>, 3), Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>  
ἀληθεύεσθαι E (f. 285<sup>v</sup>, 46), J (f. 181<sup>r</sup>, 10), M (f. 179<sup>v</sup>, 14), C (f. 73<sup>r</sup>, 21), Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup>  
*uerificari*

1064a33

καὶ Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 439<sup>r</sup>, 9), C (f. 75<sup>r</sup>, 12), Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (661, 8 ed. M. Hayduck)  
καὶ τὸ E (f. 286<sup>v</sup>, 40), J (f. 181<sup>v</sup>, 35), M (f. 181<sup>v</sup>, 4)

1065a16

ἡ Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 443<sup>r</sup>, 4)  
εἰ E (f. 287<sup>v</sup>, 3), J (f. 182<sup>r</sup>, 35), M (f. 182<sup>v</sup>, 11), C (76<sup>r</sup>, 20), Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (662, 2 ed.  
M. Hayduck), Lat<sup>s</sup> *si*

1065b30

τὸ alt. Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 446<sup>r</sup>, 11)  
om. E (f. 288<sup>r</sup>, 6), J (f. 182<sup>v</sup>, 33), M (f. 183<sup>v</sup>, 14), C (f. 77<sup>v</sup>, 1)

1065b34

οὖν Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 446<sup>v</sup>, 3); cf. *Ph.* Γ 1, 201 b 5  
γάρ E (f. 288<sup>r</sup>, 9), J (f. 182<sup>v</sup>, 36), M (f. 183<sup>v</sup>, 18), C (f. 77<sup>v</sup>, 4), Lat<sup>s</sup> *enim*

1066a19

θεῖναι Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 447<sup>v</sup>, 12); cf. *Ph.* Γ 2, 201 b 29  
τιθέναι E (f. 288<sup>r</sup>, 29–30), J (f. 183<sup>r</sup>, 11–12), M (f. 184<sup>r</sup>, 16), C (f. 78<sup>r</sup>, 1)

1066b34

καὶ Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 451<sup>r</sup>, 9)  
om. E (f. 288<sup>v</sup>, 34), J (f. 183<sup>v</sup>, 13), M (f. 185<sup>v</sup>, 2), C (f. 79<sup>r</sup>, 5)

1067a28–29

σῶμα αἰσθητὸν Α<sup>b</sup> (f. 453<sup>r</sup>, 7); cf. 1067a24, *Ph.* Γ 5, 205 b 31, b 26  
αἰσθητὸν σῶμα E (f. 289–290<sup>r</sup>, 18),<sup>104</sup> J (f. 183<sup>v</sup>, 38), M (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 11), C (f. 79<sup>v</sup>, 12)

<sup>104</sup> The leaf between ff. 288 and 291 is not regularly numbered in codex Parisinus 1853; one

1067 b 7

δε pr. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 454<sup>r</sup>, 4); cf. *Ph.* E 1, 224 a 32

μεν E (f. 289–290<sup>v</sup>, 31), J (f. 184<sup>r</sup>, 8), M (f. 186<sup>v</sup>, 3), C (f. 80<sup>r</sup>, 4), Lat<sup>g</sup>

1068 a 11<sup>105</sup>

τοῦ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 456<sup>r</sup>, 15)

om. E (f. 289–290<sup>v</sup>, 23), J (f. 184<sup>r</sup>, 38), M (f. 187<sup>r</sup>, 23), C (f. 80<sup>v</sup>, 17)

1068 a 25

ἡ δ' ὥδι A<sup>b</sup> (f. 456<sup>r</sup>, 8)<sup>106</sup>

ἡ ὥδι E (f. 289–290<sup>v</sup>, 37), J (f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 8), Lat<sup>g</sup> (*aut sic*)

αἰ δε ὥδι M (f. 187<sup>v</sup>, 14), C (f. 81<sup>r</sup>, 8)

1068 b 2

τὸ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 457<sup>v</sup>, 9);<sup>107</sup> cf. *Ph.* 226 a 2

om. E (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 1) J (f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 16), M (f. 188<sup>r</sup>, 2), C (f. 81<sup>r</sup>, 18)

1068 b 4

τι A<sup>b</sup> (τί scripsit; f. 457<sup>v</sup>, 16), cf. *Ph.* 226 a 5

om. E (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 4), J (f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 18), M (f. 188<sup>r</sup>, 5), C (f. 81<sup>r</sup>, 20), Simp<sup>108</sup>

1068 b 12

τί pr. J (f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 24), A<sup>b</sup> (f. 458<sup>r</sup>, 11)<sup>109</sup>

τί καὶ M (f. 188<sup>r</sup>, 12), C (f. 81<sup>r</sup>, 6), E initio (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 11)

\*\* καὶ E post corr. (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 11; vestigia litterarum τ et ι facile oculis perspicere possunt)

1068 b 12

ἔτι A<sup>b</sup> (f. 458<sup>r</sup>, 12)

om. E (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 11), J (f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 25), M (f. 188<sup>r</sup>, 13), C (f. 81<sup>v</sup>, 6 καὶ τίς εἰς δ ...), Lat<sup>g</sup>

can easily discern on its *recto* in the right upper corner the two numbers 289 and 290, which are united by a hyphen.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Arist. *Ph.* E 2, 225 b 11 and W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Physics: A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford 1936, repr. 1998, 620.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor posteriores commentaria, ed. H. Diels, Berlin 1895 (*CAG* vol. X), 840, 6–7: εἰς ἀντικείμενα ὥδι, τουτέστι κατὰ ἀντίφασιν, ἡ δὲ ὥδι, τουτέστιν εἰς τὰ ἐναντία, ἡ κίνησις.

<sup>107</sup> In codex Laurentianus 87, 12 the mistaken folio number 456 was changed to 457. This is also relevant to the subsequently mentioned readings of this manuscript.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor posteriores commentaria, ed. H. Diels, Berlin 1895 (*CAG* vol. X), 848, 10: τῶν ἀπειρῶν οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτον.

<sup>109</sup> The folio is mistakenly marked 457 instead of 458, but the error is very conspicuous, since f. 459 follows straightaway. This is equally pertinent to the ensuing lections of cod. Laurentianus 87, 12 referred to here.

1068b21

ñ A<sup>b</sup> (f. 458<sup>v</sup>, 11)om. E (f. 291<sup>r</sup>, 20), J (f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 31), M (f. 188<sup>r</sup>, 22), C (f. 81<sup>v</sup>, 14), Lat<sup>g</sup>

1069a23

τὸ alt. A<sup>b</sup> (f. 461<sup>r</sup>, 3), V<sup>d</sup> (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 14)om. M (f. 189<sup>v</sup>, 6), C (f. 82<sup>v</sup>, 3), E (f. 291<sup>v</sup>, 5), J (f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 16), L<sup>c</sup> (f. 119<sup>r</sup>, 5), E<sup>s</sup> (f. 142<sup>r</sup>, 15)

1070b29–30

καὶ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχὴ E (f. 292<sup>v</sup>, 21–22), M (f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 16–17), C (f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 18)καὶ δι' εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχὴ J (f. 186<sup>r</sup>, 19)καὶ δὴ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχὴ V<sup>d</sup> (f. 196<sup>r</sup>, 2–3)om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>, Bessarionis translatio in cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z servata

Given such a degree of contamination in the parts of the *Metaphysics* that we have been focusing upon, it does not seem altogether appropriate to carry on discussing claims made on the assumption that **M** is uncontaminated. One easily realizes that this codex, in and by itself, is not a touchstone for determining which readings truly belong to the family β.<sup>110</sup> Within this branch of the tradition it does not represent up to 1073a1 οἷον a younger but equipollent congener of A<sup>b</sup>. That the stemmatic method cannot be rigorously and serviceably applied for constituting the text, i.e. that the hyparchetype β cannot be reconstructed mechanically, goes without saying.

<sup>110</sup> In the recent literature the attempt has been made to reconstruct lections pertaining to the β branch on the basis of the consensus of **M** and **C**. If **M** were uncontaminated, the method would be entirely acceptable (on a related editorial procedure cf. *supra*, the final part of note 82). Since both are heavily contaminated, however, and thus none of them is independent from the α tradition, one can effortlessly make out that such an approach is misleading.



## SOURCES OF THE INDIRECT TRADITION AND EDITORIAL APPROACHES

Thanks to the indirect tradition, which in this case is a valuable complement to the extant Greek codices, also other strains of text can be recovered, albeit incompletely. The most important sources of the indirect tradition are:

- i. The commentary written by Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd–3rd cent. AD), which is fragmentarily transmitted in the Arabic translation of Abū Biṣhr Mattā ibn-Yūnus.<sup>1</sup> The fragments are preserved in Averroes' *Great Commentary on the Metaphysics*<sup>2</sup> and have been published in a German translation by J. Freudenthal with the assistance of S. Fränkel already in 1885.<sup>3</sup>
- ii. The paraphrase of the philosopher and rhetorician Themistius (4th cent.), wholly extant in the Hebrew translation of Moses ben Samuel ibn Tibbon (13th century)<sup>4</sup> and partly in Arabic.<sup>5</sup>
- iii. The commentary of the Neoplatonist philosopher Simplicius (6th cent.) on Aristotle's *De caelo*, containing *inter alia* literal quotations of considerable extension from *Metaph.* Λ 8, of which H. Bonitz made some use already at the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> As far as Simplicius' commentary

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<sup>1</sup> On this translator cf. *infra*, p. 72 (v).

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic text is edited; cf. Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Freudenthal, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, Berlin 1885. For an English translation see Charles Genequand, *Ibn Rushd's Metaphysics: A Translation with Introduction of Ibn Rushd's Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics Book Lam*, Leyden 1984.

<sup>4</sup> The translation was made from the Arabic; it was published in Berlin by Samuel Landauer in the series *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* together with a rather unreliable Latin version in the year 1903 (CAG vol. V. 5).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. A. Badawi, *Aristū 'ind al-'Arab*, Kuwait <sup>2</sup>1978, 329–333 and 12–21 or Averroes, *op. cit.*, 1492.3–1494.14, 1511.4, 1530.2–3, 1706.11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis De caelo commentaria*, ed. I. L. Heiberg, Berlin 1894, repr.

on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* is concerned, it should be pointed out that parts relating to book Lambda have not yet been identified.<sup>7</sup>

iv. The Arabic version of Ustāth or Astāth (prob. Εὐστάθιος), which was commissioned by the philosopher al-Kindī, who died around the year 875 AD. This translation is extant for almost the whole of Book Λ.<sup>8</sup> About two thirds of it, viz. 1069 a 18–1071 a 3 and 1071 a 17–1072 b 15, survive in the margin of *cod. Leid. or.* 2074. The greatest part of this section has never yet been translated into any European language, let alone been collated by editors of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.

v. The Arabic version of Abū Bishr Mattā, which provided what we would call the lemmata (and what the editor M. Bouyges, following the mediaeval tradition, calls the *Textus*<sup>9</sup>) number one to thirty-three and thirty-five to thirty-eight of Averroes' *Great Commentary*. Abū Bishr Mattā ibn-Yūnus was "one of the leading figures in the tenth-century Baghdad Christian-Arabic school of Aristotelian studies".<sup>10</sup> He is believed to have translated from the Syriac;<sup>11</sup> Abū Bishr Mattā died in 940 AD. His translation is lacunose;<sup>12</sup> apart from this it breaks off at 1072 b 16. This version is related to the lemmata of Alexander's commentary,<sup>13</sup> but is not based exclu-

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1958 (CAG vol. VII) and Arist. *Metaph.* ed. H. Bonitz, Bonn 1848, XI. According to their editors the commentaries on the *Physics*, the *Categories* and on *De anima* also comprise references to *Metaph.* Λ (cf. CAG vol. IX 148.20, 182.31, 250.26, 256.21–22, CAG vol. X 1254.13, 1255.30–31, CAG vol. VIII 6.11, 77.5–7, 170.6–8 and CAG vol. XI 51.3–4, 248.13–17, 249.14), but these sections are only of comparatively little interest for our present purpose.

<sup>7</sup> For an attempt to recover fragments of this commentary cf. I. Hadot, 'Recherches sur les fragments du commentaire de Simplicius sur la *Métaphysique* d'Aristote', in I. Hadot (ed.), *Simplicius—Sa vie, son œuvre, sa survie: Actes du colloque international de Paris 28 sept.–1er oct. 1985*, Berlin 1987, 225–245.

<sup>8</sup> Certain sections are missing due to mechanical damage. Also this version is transmitted alongside Averroes' comments.

<sup>9</sup> See Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, p. XI\*\*\*, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> See Richard Walzer, 'On the Arabic Versions of Books A, α and Λ of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*', *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 63, 1958, 221. For further details cf. F. W. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's Commentary and Short Treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione*, Oxford 1981, repr. 1991, cv–cviii.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e.g. Averroes, *op. cit.*, Notice (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe V. 1), clxxvii–clxxix and R. Walzer, *op. cit.*, 221.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, vol. III, e.g. 1542. 3 n. 29.

<sup>13</sup> One indication of this is that—if we leave aside the fragments 33 and 34 Freudenthal, which deal mainly with astronomical questions and may have been transmitted



sively on them, since it repeatedly shows striking similarities with the translation of Ustāth.<sup>14</sup>

vi. Small fragments of other Arabic versions also survive in certain authors, e.g. Averroes or ‘Abdallatif al-Baghdādī. Averroes ascribes some of the fragments he quotes to the version of Yahyā ibn ‘Adī,<sup>15</sup> a pupil of Abū Bishr Mattā.

vii. The Greek commentary on the *Metaphysics* edited by Hermann Bonitz in 1847 and by Michael Hayduck in 1891,<sup>16</sup> whose part relating to the twelfth book is nowadays attributed by most scholars to Michael of Ephesus (12th century), but which probably incorporates earlier material. As I have mentioned elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> there are disagreements between the readings presupposed by the commentator’s explanations and the citations included in the commentary; the latter were altered in several places under the influence of the vulgate.

viii. The Greek commentary ascribed in cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. (M) to the Byzantine polyhistor Georgios Pachymeres<sup>18</sup> and often referred to, before the marginal rubric attributing it to Pachymeres was discovered, as that of pseudo-Philoponus. This hermeneutical writing is mainly based on the aforementioned commentary but reflects an earlier stage of its transmission. Its lemmata found e.g. in cod. Vind. Phil. 189 (J<sup>c</sup>) but absent from M are also valuable, although they do not provide readings characteristic of some extinguished branch of the direct tradition, inasmuch as they derive from a representative of the β family which was closely related to this Ambrosianus.<sup>19</sup> The Italian humanist Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, known

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independently from Alexander’s commentary—Averroes’ last quotation from Alexander refers to line 1072 b16, whereas the last line from Abū Bishr Mattā’s translation transmitted by Averroes is 1072 b15. Cf. Charles Genequand, *op. cit.*, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Averroes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 1463, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Unless specified otherwise references are made to Alexander Aphrodisiensis, In Aristotelis *Metaphysica* commentaria, ed. M. Hayduck, Berlin 1891 (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. I).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Stefan Alexandru, ‘A New Manuscript of Pseudo-Philoponus’ Commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* Containing a Hitherto Unknown Ascription of the Work’, *Phronesis* 44, 1999, 349 n. 7.

<sup>18</sup> For details on this commentary cf. *ibid.* 347–352 and idem, ‘Reflections Regarding Milan Manuscripts of the Commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* Ascribed to Georgios Pachymeres’, *Revue d’histoire des textes* 31, 2001, 117–127.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e.g. 1075 a 11 ἐπισκεπτέον vulg.: σκεπτέον M Ps-Phil’.

as Franciscus Patritius Venetus (1529–1597), has rendered this commentary into Latin using a Greek manuscript that he brought from Cyprus. This manuscript is no longer available, but the translation was published in 1583 at Ferrara.<sup>20</sup>

ix. The *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'*. That this translation, which in 1976 became available in a critical edition,<sup>21</sup> is not based on any of the Greek MSS known to us has already been pointed out;<sup>22</sup> of particular interest is that it repeatedly agrees with Arabic sources.<sup>23</sup>

x. The *Recensio Guillelmi de Moerbeka*<sup>24</sup> is a carefully revised version of the *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'*, due to the Flemish Dominican William of Moerbeke (13th cent.). Unlike the sources of the indirect tradition mentioned up to here the *Recensio Guillelmi de Moerbeka* is to a great extent based on a representative of the direct tradition, viz. cod. Vind. Phil. 100 (J). However, it also attests readings of a valuable *deperditus*.<sup>25</sup>

xi. The humanistic translation of the Byzantine scholar Bessarion (15th cent.) also deserves to be named in this context, since its author had at his disposal codices of which some may have meanwhile disappeared.<sup>26</sup> Given that Bessarion in general rendered the Greek literally,<sup>27</sup> the reading which

<sup>20</sup> See *Ioannis Philoponi breves sed apprime doctae et utiles expositiones in omnes XIII Aristotelis libros eos qui vocantur Metaphysici quas Franciscus Patritius de Graecis Latinas fecerat*, Ferrariae 1583, repr. Stuttgart—Bad Cannstatt 1991 (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca: versiones Latinae temporum resuscitarum litterarum, vol. 2).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 2, *Metaphysica*. Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media', ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leyden 1976. This translation has not yet been consulted by any modern editor of the *Metaphysics*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, lxxv–lxxvii.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. e.g. 1070a33 εἴτεροι ἢ om. Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1070b2–3 ἢ ὧν στοιχείον om. Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>, 1070b13 οὐσίαι vulg.: οὐσία T Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1072a26 ὥδε vulg.: sicut Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1072b13 ἀλλ' deest in Them Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> atque ut vid. in Ar<sup>m</sup>, 1073a4 καὶ alt. om. Them Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup>, 1075a8 ἔχει ἐν ... γὰρ om. Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>, 1075a13 τὴν τάξιν vulg.: ordine Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> and 1075a16 καὶ non invenitur in Them Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2. *Metaphysica*. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka, ed. Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem, Leyden 1995, 246–269.

<sup>25</sup> See *ibid.*, XXV 3.1, 172 and 229–237.

<sup>26</sup> On the importance of humanistic collations (in this case reflected by a Latin version) cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della Tradizione e Critica del Testo*, Florence 1952, repr. 1988, 41–108.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Arist. *Metaph.* ed. H. Bonitz, Bonn 1848, p. xi: "... in interpretando adeo diligens est Bessarion, ut fere verbum verbo exprimat, et Graeca quae fuerint facile ex his Latinis concludas ...".

he based his version on can often be easily deduced. Jaeger asserted e.g. that in 1076 b 32 and 1090 a 17 the superior readings καὶ τὰ παρὰ and τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἔκθεσιν derive from Bessarionean conjectures (allegedly τὰ was added in the first and τῷ in the second case), but an examination of codd. Ambr. F 113 sup. (M) and Taur. B VII 23 (C) shows that these lections have manuscript authority.

Furthermore, it has to be pointed out that Bessarion's translation as transmitted by the partly autograph cod. Marc. Lat. Z. 490 (1687) considerably differs from the version available in the third volume of Aristotle's works published by the Berlin Academy (which was recently reissued), the manuscript avoiding several errors of the printed edition and repeatedly supporting valuable readings restored through conjecture by H. Bonitz.<sup>28</sup> Additionally this Marcianus exhibits a division into chapters that antedates, as far as the twelfth book of the *Metaphysics* is concerned, by approximately one century the modern division, which is thought to occur for the first time in the 1550 edition of Erasmus.<sup>29</sup> In *Metaph.* A the beginning of five chapters is marked through 'cap<sup>m</sup>.' written in the exterior margin, viz. of the modern chs. four, six, eight, nine and ten.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, in the Aldine edition of this

<sup>28</sup> Cf. app. crit. ad 1070 b 29–30, 34, 1075 b 34.

<sup>29</sup> On the division of the Aristotelian text into chapters cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica. Recensio et Translatio* Guillelmi de Moerbeka (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.1), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1995, 176–178, especially 176: "Sie wurde zum ersten Mal in die durch Michael Isingrinus herausgegebene Neuauflage der Edition des Erasmus (Basel 1550)—die vierte gedruckte griechische Ausgabe der aristotelischen Werke—eingeführt und ist seitdem, jedenfalls was die Metaphysik angeht, unverändert beibehalten worden." See further Jules Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, *Politique d'Aristote traduite en français*, t. I, Paris 1837, xcvi. A highly interesting remark regarding the 1550 Basle edition is found in S. F. G. Hoffmann's *Lexicon bibliographicum sive index editionum et interpretationum scriptorum Graecorum tum sacrorum tum profanorum*, t. I, Lipsiae 1832, 289: "Distinctio capitum in hac editione primum exhibita, est ad m(anu)s(c)ri(p)tam Gesneri adnotationem adornata." Cf. S. F. W. Hoffmann, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten Literatur der Griechen*, Teil I, Leipzig 1838, repr. Amsterdam 1961, 273: "Die Capp.-Eintheil. ist fast durchgängig nach d. handschriftl. Anmerk. Gesner's veranstaltet." [The division into chapters follows, almost throughout, the manuscript notes of Gesner.] Noteworthy, according to Samuel Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, the division of Aristotle's text into chapters found in the Greek edition printed at Basle in 1550 is nearly altogether based upon the handwritten annotations of the renowned Swiss humanist scholar Conrad Gesner (1516–1565). This Renaissance polymath, who taught Greek several years at the Theological Academy in Lausanne and who is nowadays chiefly recognized as naturalist, physician and bibliographer, was well acquainted with earlier scholarly work on Aristotle.

<sup>30</sup> Cod. Marc. Lat. Z. 490 (1687), fols. 104<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>v</sup>, 107<sup>v</sup>, 109<sup>r</sup> and 110<sup>r</sup>. Since Bessarion did not translate the *Metaphysics* from scratch, the following deserves to be noted: In cod. Marc. Lat.

translation (Venice 1516) book Λ is divided into ten chapters; with the exception of ch. two, whose beginning Bekker already regarded as ill-placed, they all overlap with the ones found in the Erasmian edition published at the middle of the sixteenth century.

Previous modern editors have discarded wholesale the editions published between 1500 and 1831; however, at least with respect to Isaac Casaubonus' Lyons edition of 1590 published by Iacobus Bubonius<sup>31</sup> this is unjustified. For Casaubonus reports in the margin *inter alia* readings occurring in codices that remained uncollated by editors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>32</sup> Some of the lections that he mentions are likely to derive from meanwhile lost manuscripts.

Immanuel Bekker does not report, as far as *Metaph.* Λ is concerned, the readings of more than four manuscripts in the apparatus of his edition, viz. of codd. A<sup>b</sup>, E, T and F<sup>b</sup>—the last-mentioned, cod. Paris. 1876, being a witness of pseudo-Alexander's commentary. Schwegler and Bonitz based their editions on Bekker's collations, which was prejudicial to their purposes not only because those collations were sometimes less accurate than expected,<sup>33</sup> but also since their postulate that nothing could be gained from a re-examination of the manuscript tradition proved in the long run to be misleading. In spite of the relatively tenuous manuscript basis, these editions—especially the one of Bonitz<sup>34</sup>—, which witness a vivid concern

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Z 235 (1639), a parchment manuscript once owned by Bessarion, which contains *inter alia* William of Moerbeke's Latin version, there are initials decorated with filigree work at the beginning of the Bekker lines 1070 a 31, 1071 b 3, 1073 a 14, 1074 b 15 and 1075 a 11 (on fols. 82<sup>r</sup>, 83<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 86<sup>r</sup> and 86<sup>v</sup>), i.e. at the starting points of the modern chapters four, six, eight, nine and ten.

<sup>31</sup> Copy used: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, shelf mark 2" Vt 38<a>.

<sup>32</sup> A. Schwegler misleadingly suggested in the preface of his 1847 edition that Casaubonus' reports of manuscript readings are feigned (cf. Arist. *Metaph.* ed. A. Schwegler, vol. I, Tübingen 1847, XVI). In 1069 b 28 for instance Casaubonus reports in the margin the lection οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος, which is found in cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. (M) and is attested by Bessarion's translation. Also the readings καὶ ἐστὶ τι in 1072 a 21, ἐνεργεῖα in 1072 a 5–6 and ῥυθμῆσιν in 1075 b 12 have manuscript support, the last-mentioned one occurring in codd. L<sup>c</sup>, Q<sup>c</sup>, u, V<sup>a</sup> as well as in the *editio princeps*. (In the manuscripts L<sup>c</sup> and Q<sup>c</sup> the Iota Subscript is missing.)

<sup>33</sup> For instance according to Bekker's apparatus cod. Vat. gr. 256 (T) omits δι' αὐτὸ in 1072 a 35. However, those words are clearly legible on fol. 168<sup>v</sup>, 20–21; Bekker's misleading report is present not only in the editions of Schwegler and Bonitz, but also e.g. in Aristoteles Latinus XXV.2, 213.

<sup>34</sup> Bonitz' edition is remarkable also because of its valuable conjectures.

for the sources of the indirect tradition and exhibit in many instances a lucid critical judgement, are an important step forward. When preparing his Teubner edition W. von Christ investigated several manuscripts *in situ*, but some of his reports are, as Ross pointed out, less accurate than those of Bekker.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless in at least one place, viz. at 1069 b 11, von Christ's statement is right whilst those of Ross and Jaeger confuse the picture;<sup>36</sup> von Christ also made some useful suggestions for the improvement of the text and showed, as has already been mentioned, that the manuscript A<sup>b</sup> reflects some features of a papyrus predecessor.

Ross was first to collate the *vetustissimus* J,<sup>37</sup> to which A. Gercke had drawn attention;<sup>38</sup> he also observed that A<sup>b</sup> agrees fairly closely with J from 1073 a 1 onwards, but failed to realize that the Medicean codex A<sup>b</sup> changes allegiance in *Metaph.* Λ 7. Since this important fact also escaped Jaeger's notice, all the modern editions are based in the final part of book Λ (as well as in books M and N) on merely one branch of the direct tradition.<sup>39</sup> Ross' accounts of manuscript readings are sometimes rather poor; unfortunately not all of his misleading reports have been amended by Jaeger.<sup>40</sup>

The present edition is grounded on an investigation of all the currently known manuscripts of *Metaph.* Λ (including the newly discovered one) as well as on the examination of the indirect evidence listed *supra* on pp. 71–76.

The entire twelfth book transmitted by codd. A<sup>b</sup>, C, E, E<sup>b</sup>, E<sup>s</sup>, H<sup>a</sup>, I<sup>b</sup>, J, J<sup>b</sup>, L<sup>c</sup>, M, P<sup>b</sup>, T and V<sup>d</sup> has been collated on the basis of microfilms with the edition of Ross; the remaining MSS<sup>41</sup> have been compared in three major passages<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> This applies to 1070 a 31 and 1073 a b 26.

<sup>36</sup> Their reports seem to derive from that of Bekker. In 1069 a 20 Ross ignores together with Bekker, unlike von Christ, that the manuscript A<sup>b</sup> correctly reads τῷ ἐφεξῆς.

<sup>37</sup> Ross' reports were supplemented, cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2, 323–326.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Wiener Studien* 14, 1892, 146–148.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. D. Harlfinger, *op. cit.*, 7–8, 32–33.

<sup>40</sup> For instance at 1072 b 30 Jaeger reproduces with a slight variation Ross' report καὶ om. E<sup>i</sup>, although καὶ is altogether missing in this section of the Parisinus, as has been pointed out already by Bekker. On the other hand Jaeger sometimes repeated, together with Ross, misguided statements of Bekker (cf. 1073 b 26, 1073 a 16 or 1075 a 7; in the first two cases von Christ's report is correct).

As far as the sources of the indirect tradition are concerned, Jaeger *inter alia* claimed to have used the Arabic translations appropriately; however, as R. Walzer's article 'On the Arabic Versions of Books A, α and Λ of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*' (*Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 63, 1958, 217–231) shows, this claim is unjustified.

<sup>41</sup> That is to say the codices B, b, B<sup>b</sup>, c, C<sup>b</sup>, D, d, D<sup>m</sup>, f, J<sup>a</sup>, J<sup>c</sup>, K<sup>c</sup>, M<sup>c</sup>, N<sup>d</sup>, N<sup>g</sup>, O<sup>c</sup>, P, Q, Q<sup>c</sup>, S, s, t, u, U<sup>c</sup>, V<sup>a</sup>, V<sup>c</sup>, Y<sup>c</sup> and Z.

<sup>42</sup> 1069 a 18–1069 b 34, 1072 a 19–1074 a 18 and 1075 a 11–1076 a 4.

as well as in other, textually problematic sections—as can be seen in the apparatus. The witnesses A<sup>b</sup>, B<sup>b</sup>, C, C<sup>b</sup>, D<sup>m</sup>, E, E<sup>b</sup>, f, H<sup>a</sup>, I<sup>b</sup>, J, J<sup>a</sup>, J<sup>b</sup>, J<sup>c</sup>, L<sup>c</sup>, M, O<sup>c</sup>, P<sup>b</sup>, Q, T, V<sup>d</sup>, V<sup>k</sup> and Z have been inspected *in situ*.

The scale of the apparatus is of a size that is usually associated with an *editio maior*. It has nevertheless to be noted that for reasons of convenience the readings of apographa have normally not been recorded. Changes of word order, details of accentuation, iotacisms, dialectal peculiarities, obvious corruptions and scribal idiosyncrasies relating e.g. to elision, iota subscript or *nu ephelkustikon* have not always been mentioned. With regard to A<sup>b</sup> it should be specified that in the section which primarily concerns us (fols. 460<sup>v</sup>–485<sup>r</sup>) at the beginning of fairly numerous lines the first letter is missing. On some folia, e.g. 64<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>r</sup>, the letters in question were added in red ink.<sup>43</sup> Given that in book Λ nobody systematically supplied this deficiency, a number of words are misspelled; the resulting trivial errors,<sup>44</sup> which blur the picture, have been left aside.

One of the major concerns has been to make use of valuable but hitherto neglected sources, bearing in mind the limited applicability of stemmatics in contaminated systems. Thus, due to the presence of cross-contamination the editorial procedure had to be to a certain extent eclectic.<sup>45</sup>

All the chapter headings are written in Latin, to remind the reader that this division is not genuine. In the present edition chapter two starts at 1069b3, as suggested by Immanuel Bekker in 1831. Later editors followed to some extent his suggestion, as signalled by the indentation of the line concerned.

<sup>43</sup> This has been regarded since the end of the nineteenth century as a relic of the stichometric notation used in papyri. Cf. e.g. J. Irigoin, *Tradition et critique des textes grecs*, Paris 1997, 187 and E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. rev. by P. J. Parsons, London 1987, 16 (*BICS* Supplement 46).

<sup>44</sup> One finds e.g. λλως instead of ἄλλως (fols. 472<sup>r</sup> 4 and 479<sup>v</sup> 6), υδε instead of οὐδε (fol. 478<sup>v</sup> 7) or ε instead of δε (471<sup>v</sup> 7).

<sup>45</sup> It is evident that in a number of passages none of the hitherto utilized MSS can be regarded as faithfully representing the archetype and that the sources of the indirect tradition often antedate the oldest surviving codices. One should not lose sight of the fact that in certain cases correct readings are found only in a small minority of the witnesses (cf. e.g. N. G. Wilson, 'Variant Readings with Poor Support in the Manuscript Tradition', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 17, 1987, 1–13 and W. Jaeger, *Aristotle*, trans. R. Robinson, Oxford 1948, repr. 1955, 365). On the misuse of stemmatic theory in contaminated traditions (in spite of Maas' avowal "Gegen die Kontamination ist kein Kraut gewachsen") cf. e.g. R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus*, Cambridge 1964, 4, 157–158 or L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission*, Oxford 1983, 144.

As regards the notes accompanying the edition, it should be mentioned that they are not meant to offer a running commentary on the text: They are rather intended to cast light upon sections that have not been investigated in sufficient detail elsewhere and to account for editorial decisions which are not self-explanatory.





TEXT



## CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

A <sup>b</sup>	cod. Laur. 87, 12, saec. XII; ab οἶον (1073 a 1, fol. 485 <sup>r</sup> ) saec. XIV
C	cod. Taur. B VII 23, saec. XV
E	cod. Paris. 1853, saec. X
E <sup>b</sup>	cod. Marc. 211, saec. XIII–XIV
E <sup>s</sup>	cod. Escor. Y III 18, saec. XIII
H <sup>a</sup>	cod. Marc. 214, saec. XIII–XIV
I <sup>b</sup>	cod. Paris. Coisl. 161, saec. XIV
J	cod. Vind. Phil. 100, saec. IX
J <sup>b</sup>	cod. Vind. Phil. 66, saec. XV
L <sup>c</sup>	cod. Laur. 87, 19, saec. XV
M	cod. Ambr. F 113 sup., saec. XIV
P <sup>b</sup>	cod. Paris. Suppl. 642, saec. XIII exeuntis
V <sup>d</sup>	cod. Vat. 255, saec. XIV ineuntis
V <sup>k</sup>	cod. Vat. 115, saec. XV

### Rarius commemorantur

B	cod. Brux. 11270–75, saec. XV
b	cod. Mosqu. Synodalis 6 (450), saec. XV
B <sup>b</sup>	cod. Laur. 87, 18, saec. XIII
c	cod. Paris. 1861, saec. XV
C <sup>b</sup>	cod. Laur. 87, 26, saec. XIII
D	cod. Paris. 1850, saec. XV
d	cod. Salm. M 54, a. circiter 1500
D <sup>m</sup>	cod. Marc. 205, saec. XV
f	cod. Marc. 206, saec. XV
K <sup>c</sup>	cod. Matr. 4563 (N 26), saec. XV
J <sup>a</sup>	cod. Vind. Phil. 64, a. 1457
J <sup>c</sup>	cod. Vind. Phil. 189, saec. XVI
M <sup>c</sup>	cod. Ambr. L 117 sup., saec. XV
N <sup>d</sup>	cod. Neap. III D 35, saec. XV
N <sup>g</sup>	cod. Neap. III D 36, saec. XV
O <sup>c</sup>	cod. Oxon. C.C.C. 110, saec. XV exeuntis
P	cod. Laur. 71. 16, saec. XV
Q	cod. Marc. 200 (coll. 327), sec. XV exeuntis
Q <sup>c</sup>	cod. Paris. 1848, a. fere 1470
S	cod. Laur. 81,1, saec. XIII
s	cod. Vat. Pal. 164, saec. XV
T	cod. Vat. 256, saec. XIV
t	cod. Tolet. 94–12, saec. XV
u	cod. Vat. Reg. 124, a. ferme 1500

U <sup>c</sup>	cod. Paris. Suppl. 204, saec. XV
V <sup>a</sup>	cod. Vat. Urb. 48, a. circiter 1600
V <sup>c</sup>	cod. Vat. 257, saec. XV
Y <sup>c</sup>	cod. Paris. Suppl. 332, saec. XV
Z	cod. Taur. C III 5, saec. XV exeuntis
a	editio Aldina, a. 1497
E	editio Erasmi, Basileae a. 1550
Ⓒ	Isaaci Casauboni editio, Lugduni a. 1590 in officina Iacobi Bubonii litterarum formis exscripta

# SIGLA PER COMPENDIUM SCRIPTA

$$\omega \left\{ \begin{matrix} \alpha \\ \beta \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\omega = A^b C E E^b E^s H^a I^b J J^b L^c M P^b V^d)$$

$$\alpha \left\{ \begin{matrix} E \\ \gamma \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\alpha = E E^b E^s H^a I^b J J^b L^c P^b V^d)$$

$$\beta \left\{ \begin{matrix} A^b \\ \lambda \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\beta = A^b C M)$$

$$\gamma \left\{ \begin{matrix} J \\ \delta \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\gamma = E^b E^s H^a I^b J J^b L^c P^b V^d)$$

$$\delta \left\{ \begin{matrix} V^d \\ \varepsilon \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\delta = E^b E^s H^a I^b J^b L^c P^b V^d)$$

$$\varepsilon \left\{ \begin{matrix} \zeta \\ \eta \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\varepsilon = E^b E^s H^a I^b J^b L^c P^b)$$

$$\zeta \left\{ \begin{matrix} \vartheta \\ E^s \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\zeta = E^b E^s H^a I^b P^b)$$

$$\eta \left\{ \begin{matrix} J^b \\ L^c \end{matrix} \right.$$

$$\vartheta \left\{ \begin{matrix} \iota \\ I^b \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\vartheta = E^b H^a I^b P^b)$$

$$\iota \left\{ \begin{matrix} \kappa \\ E^b \end{matrix} \right. \quad (\iota = E^b H^a P^b)$$

$$\kappa \left\{ \begin{matrix} H^a \\ P^b \end{matrix} \right.$$

$$\lambda \left\{ \begin{matrix} M \\ C \end{matrix} \right.$$

## SIGLA COMMENTARIORUM ET TRANSLATIONUM

Al	Fragmenta commentarii ab Aphrodisiensi Alexandro compositi, quae apud Averroem leguntur
Them	Themistii in Aristotelis Metaphysicorum librum A paraphrasis
Simp	Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria
Ar <sup>u</sup>	Araba translatio ante a. 870 ab Ustāth vel Astāth (Εὐστάθιος ut vid.) confecta
Ar <sup>m</sup>	Arabica translatio ante a. 940 ab Abū Bishr Mattā ibn-Yūnus conscripta
Ar <sup>y</sup>	Fragmenta translationis Arabicae ab Yahyā ibn ‘Adī compositae, saec. X
Hb	Averrois commentarii Hebraica translatio ab editore Maurice Bouyges Arabice reddita
Lat <sup>a</sup>	Translatio Anonyma sive ‘Media’ ante saec. XIII confecta
Lat <sup>g</sup>	Guillelmi de Moerbeka recensio, saec. XIII
Lat <sup>b</sup>	Translatio Bessarionis episcopi Nicaeensis (saec. XV), ab Academia Regia Borussica a. 1831 typis mandata
Ps-Al	Commentarius in novem posteriores Metaphysicorum libros qui Alexandri Aphrodisiensis nomine traditur
Ps-Al <sup>l</sup>	Pseudo-Alexandri lemma
Ps-Al <sup>c</sup>	Pseudo-Alexandri citatio
Ps-Al <sup>p</sup>	Pseudo-Alexandri paraphrasis
Ps-Phil	Pseudo-Joannis Philoponi expositiones in omnes XIV Aristotelis libros Metaphysicos
Ps-Phil <sup>l</sup>	Pseudo-Philoponi lemma
Ps-Phil <sup>c</sup>	Pseudo-Philoponi citatio
Ps-Phil <sup>p</sup>	Pseudo-Philoponi paraphrasis

# ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑ ΦΥΣΙΚΑ

## Λ

### CAPUT PRIMUM

Περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἢ θεωρία· τῶν γὰρ οὐσιῶν αἱ ἀρχαὶ 1069a18  
καὶ τὰ αἷτια ζητοῦνται. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὡς ὅλον τι τὸ πᾶν,  
ἢ οὐσία πρῶτον μέρος· καὶ εἰ τῷ ἐφεξῆς, καὶ οὕτως πρῶτον 20  
ἢ οὐσία, εἶτα τὸ ποιὸν ἢ ποσόν. ἅμα δὲ οὐδ' ὄντα  
5 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπλῶς ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ ποιότητες καὶ κινήσεις, ἢ  
καὶ τὸ οὐ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ οὐκ εὐθύ· λέγομεν γοῦν εἶναι καὶ  
ταῦτα, οἷον ἔστιν οὐ λευκόν. ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων χωριστόν.  
μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἔργῳ· τῆς γὰρ οὐσίας ἐζήτουν 25  
ἀρχὰς καὶ στοιχεῖα καὶ αἷτια. οἱ μὲν οὖν νῦν τὰ καθόλου  
10 οὐσίας μᾶλλον τιθέασιν (τὰ γὰρ γένη καθόλου, ἃ φασιν  
ἀρχὰς καὶ οὐσίας εἶναι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ λογικῶς ζητεῖν)· οἱ  
δὲ πάλαι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα, οἷον πῦρ καὶ γῆν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ  
κοινὸν σώμα. οὐσαὶ δὲ τρεῖς, μία μὲν αἰσθητή, ἣν πάντες 30  
ὁμολογοῦσιν — ἥς ἢ μὲν ἄϊδιος ἢ δὲ φθαρτή, οἷον τὰ

1069a18 post περι add. δὲ a, V<sup>d</sup> supra lin. τῆς οὐσίας] τοῦ ὄντος Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup> ut in codd. Vat. Urb. 49, Vind. Phil. 189 et in translatione Patritii invenitur (At τῆς οὐσίας praebeet Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup> in margine codicis Ambr. F 113 sup. apposita; confer quae anno MCMXCIX post Christum natum in *Phronesis* vol. XLIV, 347–352 scripsi.) τῶν ... οὐσιῶν, cf. *Metaph.* Γ 2, 1003 b18–19] *substantiae* Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Al: τῶν ὄντων Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: *dum entis principia inquirere volumus, substantiae dumtaxat principia investigare volumus* Them interpretando explanans 20 καὶ εἰ] εἰ καὶ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> τῷ] τὸ P T C et ut vid. Ar<sup>u</sup> ac Lat<sup>a</sup> καὶ alt.] καὶ A<sup>b</sup> 21 ἢ] et Them Ar<sup>m</sup>: ἢ τὸ M U<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: εἶτα τὸ A<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> et nonnulli codd. Transl. Anon. (Lat<sup>a</sup>) 22 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπλῶς] ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν A<sup>b</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> a Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup>: ἀπλῶς ὡς εἰπεῖν Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>, fort. Ar<sup>m</sup>: *simpliciter* Ar<sup>u</sup> ταῦτα] τὰλλα A<sup>b</sup> E γρ, a Them, Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> ut vid.: verborum ταῦτα et ἀπλῶς ordinem commutaverunt H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> D<sup>m</sup> γρ: ταῦτα τὰλλα vel etiam τὰλλα tantum Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid. (cf. 1414, 2–3 cum 1456, 3–4 atque 1599, 5 ed. Bouyges) ἀλλά] οἷον Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> καὶ om. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> ἢ] ἢ A<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> x η Ar<sup>m</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Them: om. T 23 καὶ pr. om. V<sup>d</sup> τὸ οὐκ A<sup>b</sup> B c D d D<sup>m</sup> f H<sup>a</sup> J<sup>a</sup> K<sup>c</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> O<sup>c</sup> P Q Q<sup>c</sup> T u U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> Z Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: οὐκ cett. γοῦν A<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J (γ' οὖν), Lat<sup>s</sup>: οὖν T V<sup>d</sup> η x λ a Lat<sup>a</sup> ut vid. 23–24 εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα] καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι A<sup>b</sup> 24 ταῦτα] τοιαῦτα Ar<sup>u</sup> (at non Ar<sup>m</sup>) 25 καὶ om. J<sup>b</sup> ac verbum Latinum par Graeco non invenitur in Lat<sup>b</sup> ἐζήτουν] *querunt* Lat<sup>a</sup> 26 ἀρχὰς καὶ om. Ar<sup>m</sup> 28 καὶ οὐσίας] τῆς οὐσίας Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid. εἶναι om. J<sup>b</sup> 29 ἕκαστα A<sup>b</sup> f J<sup>a</sup> corr. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: ἕκαστον α λ B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> T S 30 κοινόν] κινεῖν E<sup>s</sup> 30–31 Verba ἣν πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ante ἥς ἢ μὲν legerunt Them Ps-Al (670, 29–30; cf. 25–26 et 671, 18–19) ac Ps-Phil; huc transferenda esse censuit Bonitz. 31 ἄϊδιος ἢ δὲ om. E<sup>b2</sup> J<sup>c</sup> M V<sup>k</sup> C ante corr., Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> atque paraphrasis recens brevisque, quae in codice Athous, Sacri monasterii Iberorum 388, fol. 45 verso litteris mandata est (... ἢ μὲν αἰσθητή, ἥς τὸ μὲν φθαρτόν, ὡς τὰ ζῶα καὶ φυτά); cf. huius editionis appendicem.

φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῶα [ἢ δ' αἰδῖος] — ἥς ἀνάγκη τὰ στοιχεῖα  
λαβεῖν, εἴτε ἓν εἴτε πολλά· ἄλλη δὲ ἀκίνητος, καὶ ταύ-  
την φασὶ τινες εἶναι χωριστήν, οἱ μὲν εἰς δύο διαιροῦντες,  
35 οἱ δὲ εἰς μίαν φύσιν τιθέντες τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά,  
οἱ δὲ τὰ μαθηματικά μόνον τούτων. ἐκεῖναι μὲν δὴ φυ- 5  
1069b1 σικῆς (μετὰ κινήσεως γάρ), αὕτη δὲ ἐτέρας, εἰ μηδεμία  
αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ κοινή.

## CAPUT SECUNDUM

1069b3 Ἡ δ' αἰσθητὴ οὐσία μεταβλητή. εἰ δ' ἡ μεταβολὴ  
ἐκ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἢ τῶν μεταξὺ, ἀντικειμένων δὲ μὴ  
5 πάντων (οὐ λευκὸν γάρ ἢ φωνή) ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, 10  
ἀνάγκη ὑπεῖναι τι τὸ μεταβάλλον εἰς τὴν ἐναντίωσιν· οὐ  
γάρ τὰ ἐναντία μεταβάλλει. ἔτι τὸ μὲν ὑπομένει, τὸ δ'  
ἐναντίον οὐχ ὑπομένει· ἔστιν ἄρα τι τρίτον παρὰ τὰ ἐναν-  
τία, ἢ ὕλη. εἰ δὴ αἱ μεταβολαὶ τέτταρες, ἢ κατὰ τὸ τί  
10 ἢ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν ἢ ποσὸν ἢ ποῦ, καὶ γένεσις μὲν ἢ ἀπλὴ 15  
καὶ φθορὰ ἢ κατὰ τὸ τόδε, αὕξησις δὲ καὶ φθίσις ἢ κατὰ  
τὸ ποσόν, ἀλλοίωσις δὲ ἢ κατὰ τὸ πάθος, φθορὰ δὲ ἢ  
κατὰ τόπον, εἰς ἐναντιώσεις ἂν εἶεν τὰς καθ' ἑκάστον αἱ

1069a32 καὶ om. V<sup>k</sup> ἢ δ' αἰδῖος om. unus e codicibus Alexandri, Them Ar<sup>m</sup>; missa ea facere  
maluit Al (fr. 4<sup>b</sup>), quem secutus est Freudenthal 33–34 καὶ ταύτην A<sup>b</sup> B D<sup>m</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: ταύτην  
α λ a C E 34 φασὶ τινες εἶναι] τινὲς εἶναι φασὶ A<sup>b</sup>: φασὶν εἶναι τινες B<sup>b</sup> 35–36 μαθηματικά,  
οἱ δὲ τὰ om. E et initio J: μαθητικά, οἱ δε J mg. 36 μαθηματικά] μαθη τικά J (litterae  
duae deletae sunt) μόνον om. E<sup>b1</sup> H<sup>a1</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> 1069b1 εἰ] ἐπεὶ ut vid. Al Them Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-  
Phil<sup>p</sup> et Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (sed non Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>) 2 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς V<sup>d</sup> ζ a κοινή] κινήσεως V<sup>d</sup> ζ λ 3 δ'  
alt. A<sup>b</sup> B D<sup>m</sup> Q u: δὴ E correctus (littera η manu poster. ut vid. scripta), J<sup>2</sup>, Lat<sup>b</sup> atque ut vid.  
Ar<sup>m</sup> et Ar<sup>u</sup>: δὲ cett. 5 οὐ ... φωνή] *album non ex voce* Lat<sup>b</sup> ab Academia regia Borussia  
typis mandata (sed *vox enim non alba* praebet cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z) γάρ καὶ ἡ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Essen  
6 τὸ μεταβάλλον] τῷ μεταβάλλοντι Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. οὐ] εἰς V<sup>d</sup> 7 μεταβάλλει] μεταβάλλειν E  
initio ἔτι] *igitur* Ar<sup>m</sup> 8 ὑπομένει] ὑπομένη E primum τι τρίτον] τρίτη C M: τρίτον V<sup>d</sup>  
C γρ 9 τὸ om. B<sup>b</sup> λ E primo 10 ἢ ποσόν om. M ἢ om. V<sup>c</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 11 καὶ φθορὰ om.  
Ar<sup>m</sup> ἢ pr. A<sup>b</sup> B c D d D<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> O<sup>c</sup> Q<sup>c</sup> u U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>a</sup> V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> ac supra lin. f et J<sup>a</sup>: ἡ a: om. cett. τὸ τόδε  
J V<sup>d</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>a1</sup> b E corr. (τὸ manu rec. supra lin. addito), Ross: τόδε cett. τόδε] Ar<sup>m</sup> forsitan τόδε τι  
legerit (cf. 1436, 14 cum 798, 8 atque 966, 3 ed. Bouyges) καὶ φθίσις om. Ar<sup>m</sup> ἢ alt. om. E<sup>b</sup>  
12 τὸ ποσόν] ... *et quantitatem* Ar<sup>u</sup> (Ante τὸ ποσόν non satis dilucidum legitur verbum, quo  
idem interpres τὸ ὄν 1028a14 et τὸ εἶναι 1019a4 in Arabicum vertit sermonem.) ἀλλοίωσις ...  
πάθος ante αὕξησις ... ποσόν 1069b11–12 legisse vid. Them at post κατὰ τόπον b 13 Ps-Al τὸ  
πάθος] τὰ πάθη fort. Ar<sup>m</sup> φθορὰ] φθορὰ E E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup> J primo, J<sup>b</sup> ante corr. ut vid.



μεταβολαί. ἀνάγκη δὴ μεταβάλλειν τὴν ὕλην δυναμένην  
 ἄμφω· ἐπεὶ δὲ διττὸν τὸ ὄν, μεταβάλλει πᾶν ἐκ τοῦ δυ- 15  
 νάμει ὄντος εἰς τὸ ἐνεργεῖα ὄν (οἶον ἐκ λευκοῦ δυνάμει εἰς  
 τὸ ἐνεργεῖα λευκόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐξήσεως καὶ φθί-  
 5 σεως), ὥστε οὐ μόνον κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐνδέχεται γίγνεσθαι  
 ἐκ μὴ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὄντος γίγνεται πάντα, δυνά-  
 μει μέντοι ὄντος, ἐκ μὴ ὄντος δὲ ἐνεργεῖα. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι 1069 b 20  
 τὸ 'Αναξαγόρου ἐν· βέλτιον γάρ ἢ "ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα" — καὶ 'Εμ-  
 πεδοκλέους τὸ μῖγμα καὶ 'Αναξιμάνδρου, καὶ ὡς Δημό-  
 10 κριτὸς φησιν — "ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει, ἐνεργεῖα δ' οὐ"· ὥστε  
 τῆς ὕλης ἂν εἶεν ἡμμένοι· πάντα δ' ὕλην ἔχει ὅσα μετα-  
 βάλλει, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν· καὶ τῶν αἰδίων ὅσα μὴ γενητὰ 25  
 κινήτὰ δὲ φορᾷ, ἀλλ' οὐ γενητὴν ἀλλὰ ποθὲν ποί. ἀπο-  
 ρήσειε δ' ἂν τις ἐκ ποίου μὴ ὄντος ἢ γένεσις· τριχῶς γάρ  
 15 τὸ μὴ ὄν. εἰ δὴ τί ἐστι δυνάμει, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόν-  
 τος ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου· οὐδ' ἱκανὸν ὅτι ὁμοῦ πάντα  
 χρήματα· διαφέρει γάρ τῇ ὕλῃ, ἐπεὶ διὰ τί ἄπειρα ἐγέ- 30  
 νετο ἀλλ' οὐχ ἓν; ὁ γὰρ νοῦς εἷς, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ ἡ ὕλη μία,

1069 b 14 δὴ] δὲ M d V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> E Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> μεταβάλλειν τὴν ὕλην] τὴν ὕλην μεταβάλλειν E<sup>s</sup> η ι  
 15 τὸ om. E<sup>b</sup> ante corr. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (sed non om. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>) 16 ὄν om. M C ante corr. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> ἐκ  
 om. H<sup>a</sup> 17 αὐξήσεως] αὐξῆς J B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> J<sup>c</sup> N<sup>s</sup> S s T t λ E initio 17–18 ἐπ' αὐξήσεως καὶ φθί-  
 σεως] in incremento et corruptione vel diminutione Ar<sup>u</sup> in generatione et corruptione vel demin.  
 Ar<sup>m</sup> (cf. Genequand 82, n. 44) 20 μέντοι] μὲν V<sup>c</sup> initio ac Ps-Al explanans interpretando  
 21 'Αναξαγόρου] 'Αναξιμάνδρου Lütze ἐν] ὄν N<sup>s</sup> C<sup>b</sup> ante corr., Jackson βέλτιον ... πάντα  
 del. Karsten βέλτιον γάρ] καὶ βέλτιον E γρ ἢ ἦν Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: ἢ E J β ε: ἦν V<sup>d</sup> J<sup>a</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>c</sup> u V<sup>a</sup>  
 Y<sup>c</sup> a: ἦν, ἦ τὸ C γρ: ἦν etiam ab Ar<sup>u</sup> testatur, at hanc partem interpretes mendose transtulit  
 (cf. Bouyges, Notice CLXXIII) 22 'Αναξιμάνδρου] hoc Anaximandri Ar<sup>m</sup> (interpretem τὸ  
 'Αναξιμάνδρου legisse suspicatus est Bouyges): 'Αναξαγόρου Lütze: Anaximandri nomen Ps-  
 Al non commemorat 23 ἦν] erunt translationis Bess. cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z ὁμοῦ M V<sup>d</sup>  
 E γρ, D<sup>m</sup> alio corr. calamo, θ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: ἡμῖν A<sup>b</sup> B<sup>b</sup> C E J T η Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Al (sed corruptum esse  
 locum existimabat Freudenthal p. 45, 1): in fenestra om. E<sup>s</sup>: ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ  
 ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (at Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> lectionem ἡμῖν non confirmat): μὲν Jaeger πάντα ... οὐ haec  
 non Democriti esse verba suspicatus est Alexander (fr. 9 Freudenthal) 24 δ'] δὴ Ar<sup>u</sup> ut  
 vid. (cf. Bouyges, Notice CLXXIII) 25 ἐτέραν] ἕτερα ἐτέραν opinabatur Bonitz γενητὰ]  
 γεννητὰ A<sup>b</sup> 26 φορᾷ] φθορᾷ J ante corr., E<sup>b</sup> initio, H<sup>a</sup> ante corr. ut vid., B<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> γεννητὴν]  
 γεννητὴν A<sup>b</sup> J<sup>a</sup> ποί om. Lat<sup>a</sup> 26–27 ἀπορήσειε] dubitabit Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> 27 ἡ om. E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup>  
 η κ γένεσις] γέννησις V<sup>d</sup> 28 τί ἐστι] τί abest ab Ar<sup>m</sup>: ἔστι τὸ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> (at non Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>)  
 οὐκ ἐκ M, I<sup>b</sup> supra lin. ex interpretatione quae fertur Alexandri (674, 13–14 ed. M. Hayduck), γρ  
 C, Them ut vid., Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> ac fort. Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>: οὐ cett. codd. Lat<sup>a</sup> 29 ἐξ om. V<sup>d</sup> ὁμοῦ]  
 ἦν ὁμοῦ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: om. primo H<sup>a</sup> 30 ἐπεὶ] ἐπεὶ δὲ V<sup>d</sup> ante corr. 31 ὥστ' εἰ  
 καὶ ἡ] ὥστε εἰ ἡ A<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: ὥστε καὶ εἰ C Lat<sup>a</sup> ut vid. (quare et si): ὥστε καὶ ἡ M V<sup>d</sup> mg.

ἐκεῖνο ἐγένετο ἐνεργεία ὃ ἡ ὕλη ἦν δυνάμει. τρία δὴ τὰ  
αἷτια καὶ τρεῖς αἱ ἀρχαί, δύο μὲν ἡ ἐναντιώσεις, ἥς τὸ  
34 μὲν λόγος καὶ εἶδος τὸ δὲ στέρησις, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἡ ὕλη.

## CAPUT TERTIUM

- 1069b35 Μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι οὐ γίγνεται οὔτε ἡ ὕλη οὔτε τὸ εἶδος,  
λέγω δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα. πᾶν γὰρ μεταβάλλει τι καὶ ὑπὸ 5  
1070a1 τινος καὶ εἷς τι· ὑφ' οὗ μὲν, τοῦ πρώτου κινουντος· ὃ δέ, ἡ  
ὕλη· εἰς ὃ δέ, τὸ εἶδος. εἰς ἄπειρον οὖν εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ μόνον  
ὁ χαλκὸς γίγνεται στρογγύλος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρογγύλον  
ἢ ὁ χαλκός· ἀνάγκη δὴ στήναι. — μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι ἐκάσθη  
5 ἐκ συνωνύμου γίγνεται οὐσία (τὰ γὰρ φύσει οὐσίαι καὶ 10  
τὰ ἄλλα). ἡ γὰρ τέχνη ἢ φύσει γίγνεται ἢ τύχῃ ἢ τῷ  
αὐτομάτῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τέχνη ἀρχὴ ἐν ἄλλῳ, ἡ δὲ φύσις  
ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ (ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ), αἱ δὲ  
λοιπαὶ αἰτίαι στερήσεις τούτων. οὐσίαι δὲ τρεῖς, ἡ μὲν ὕλη  
10 τόδε τι οὖσα τῷ φαίνεσθαι (ὅσα γὰρ ἐν ἀφῇ καὶ μὴ 15  
συμφύσει, ὕλη καὶ ὑποκείμενον), ἡ δὲ φύσις τόδε τι καὶ  
ἕξις τις εἰς ἣν· ἔτι τρίτη ἡ ἐκ τούτων ἡ καθ' ἕκαστα,

1069b32 ἐγένετο] ἐγένετο καὶ ι· δ Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Schwegler: *quod* (cui adiuncta sunt  
verba eius materia) transl. Bessarionis quae in cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z legitur: *quod* (sequuntur  
verba erat materia eius) Ar<sup>a</sup>: οὐ καὶ E<sup>s</sup> J<sup>a</sup> supra lin., ι: οὐ cett. codd., Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> δῆ] μὲν H<sup>a</sup>: om.  
J<sup>b</sup> 33 αἱ om. A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> J T V<sup>d</sup> N<sup>g</sup> η et nonnulli recc. ex his descripti 35 μετὰ ταῦτα  
om. Lat<sup>a</sup> ὅτι om. κ ἢ om. Ps-Al<sup>l</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> (at non om. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>) τὸ om. Ps-Al<sup>l</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>  
(sed non deest in Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>) 36 πᾶν] πάντα E<sup>b2</sup> λ μεταβάλλει] *quod transmutat* Lat<sup>a</sup> τι]  
ὑπὸ τινος fort. Ar<sup>a</sup>: om. H<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid. καὶ om. E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> ante corr., η ι ὑπό] ἀπό C: ex Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>a</sup>  
1070a1 καὶ non invenitur in Lat<sup>b</sup> τι] τί, καὶ ἐξ' οὗ A<sup>b</sup> πρώτου om. Ar<sup>m</sup> ὃ] οὐ E<sup>s</sup> J P<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup>  
ante corr., a Lat<sup>g</sup> et nonnulli codd. Translationis Anon. (Lat<sup>a</sup>): *in quo* Lat<sup>b</sup> (at *quod* Bessarionis  
transl. in cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z servata) 5 οὐσία] ἡ οὐσία A<sup>b</sup> γάρ] δὲ E<sup>s</sup> ut vid. οὐσίαι]  
οὐσία δ Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> 6 γὰρ om. Ar<sup>m</sup> τέχνη ἢ φύσει] *natura aut arte* Lat<sup>b</sup> 8 αὐτῷ E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup>  
J<sup>b</sup> κ: αὐτῷ E<sup>s</sup> J V<sup>d</sup>: ἐαυτῷ β ἄνθρωπος ... γεννᾷ ad οὐσία (1070a5) pertinere putavit Ps-Al et  
his verbis ad illius loci interpretationem usus est Them 9 δὲ] γάρ η Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 10 τόδε ...  
τῷ t punctis del. οὖσα] οὐσία J L<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> J<sup>b</sup> (verbo δυνάμει supra lin. addito, οὖσα mg.): om. E<sup>s</sup>  
τῷ φαίνεσθαι] τὸ φ· V<sup>d</sup>: τῷ φύεσθαι J<sup>b</sup> mg.: *et apparens* Lat<sup>a</sup> γάρ] γὰρ ἐστὶν A<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> post corr.,  
Lat<sup>a</sup>: γάρ E ἐστὶν alia manu addito ἐν ἀφῇ C Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: ἐν ἀφῇ J<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup>: ἀφῇ cett. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> καὶ  
non reperitur in Lat<sup>b</sup> μὴ om. M 11 καὶ pr.] τὸ Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup>: δὲ E: *ad* Lat<sup>a</sup> φύσις] φύσις καὶ A<sup>b</sup>  
11–12 καὶ ἕξις τις εἰς ἣν Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> typis exscripta: εἰς ἣν καὶ ἕξις τις J E ε β a, Bess. transl. quae  
in cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z legitur, Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐξ ἥς τις J<sup>b</sup> mg.: εἰς ἣν εἶδος καὶ ἕξις τις V<sup>d</sup>: εἰς  
ἣν καὶ ἕξις T: *in quam habitus quidam est* Lat<sup>a</sup>: καὶ ἕξις τις Ar<sup>u</sup> (omittendo εἰς ἣν): οὖσα καὶ ἕξις  
τις Bullinger 12 ἢ alt.] ἢ καὶ A<sup>b</sup>

οἷον Σωκράτης ἢ Καλλίας. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τινῶν τὸ τόδε τι  
οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ τὴν συνθετὴν οὐσίαν, οἷον οἰκίας τὸ εἶδος, εἰ  
μὴ ἡ τέχνη (οὐδ' ἔστι γένεσις καὶ φθορὰ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἄλ- 15  
λον τρόπον εἰσὶ καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν οἰκία τε ἢ ἄνευ ὕλης καὶ  
5 ὑγίεια καὶ πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τέχνην), ἀλλ' εἴπερ, ἐπὶ τῶν φύ-  
σει· διὸ δὴ οὐ κακῶς Πλάτων ἔφη ὅτι εἶδη ἔστιν ὅποσα  
φύσει — εἴπερ ἔστιν εἶδη ἄλλα τούτων οἷον πῦρ σὰρξ κε-  
φαλή· ἅπαντα γὰρ ὕλη ἐστί, καὶ τῆς μάλιστ' οὐσίας ἡ 1070a20  
τελευταία. τὰ μὲν οὖν κινούμενα αἷτια ὡς προγεγενημένα  
10 ὄντα, τὰ δ' ὡς ὁ λόγος ἅμα. ὅτε γὰρ ὑγιαίνει ὁ ἄν-  
θρωπος, τότε καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια ἔστιν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς χαλ-  
κῆς σφαίρας ἅμα καὶ ἡ χαλκὴ σφαῖρα (εἰ δὲ καὶ ὕστε-  
ρόν τι ὑπομένει, σκεπτέον· ἐπ' ἐνίων γὰρ οὐδὲν κωλύει, 25  
οἷον εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ τοιοῦτον, μὴ πᾶσα ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς· πᾶσαν γὰρ  
15 ἀδύνατον ἴσως). φανερόν δὴ ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ διὰ γε ταῦτ'

1070a13 τι A<sup>b</sup> B c D d D<sup>m</sup> J<sup>a</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> O<sup>c</sup> Q Q<sup>c</sup> u U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>a</sup> V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup>, f et V<sup>d</sup> correcti, a C E: om. cett.  
atque ut vid. Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> et Ar<sup>u</sup> 14 συνθετὴν] σύνθετον H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> 15 οὐδ' οὐκ V<sup>d</sup> T  
16 τε om. E J B<sup>b</sup> δ λ Lat<sup>a</sup>, Recensionis Guillelmi de Moerbeka versio Palatina 18 δὴ om.  
A<sup>b</sup>, in fenestra V<sup>d</sup>, ut vid. Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> ac Lat<sup>b</sup> Πλάτων α Ps-Al (677, 13): ὁ Πλάτων β J<sup>b</sup> mg.:  
in magno Averrois commentario inter alia legitur *Alexander dixit illum* (sc. Aristotelem) *eo*  
(sc. iis verbis) *significare Platonem, sicut in nonnullis libris manu scriptis invenitur* (1481, 4–  
5 ed. Bouyges): *qui species posuerunt* Ar<sup>m</sup> Al<sup>p</sup> (1481, 7 ed. Bouyges) Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (676, 36–38) ac  
Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> ut vid.: *qui species posuit* Them (7, 7 ed. Landauer) Al<sup>p</sup> (fort. librorum mendis  
vitati, cf. 1481, 9 atque 1484, 11 ed. Bouyges) His lectionibus confer e. gr. Procl. in *Prm*. 691 et  
Alex.Aphr. in *Metaph.* 79, 22–80, 6. 18–19 ὅτι ... ἔστιν εἶδη] *quod haec, si exstant aliquo*  
*modo, sunt omnia quae exstant natura* Ar<sup>m</sup> cuius lectionis testis existimatur Al, qui verba  
εἴπερ ἔστιν εἶδη post ὅτι (1070a18) legisse videtur eaque perspicuitatis causa post φύσει (a  
19) transtulit 19 ἄλλα I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> γρ, A<sup>b</sup> alio corr. calamo, a Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>: ἄλλα J:  
ἀλλὰ A<sup>b1</sup> E E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>d</sup> B<sup>b</sup> T E<sup>b2</sup> η λ Al<sup>p</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup>: om. E<sup>b1</sup> x: ἀλλ' οὐ Ross anno post Christum  
natum MCMVIII, Cherniss: ἀλλὰ γ' οὐ Christ τούτων om. E<sup>b1</sup> x οἷον om. ut vid. Ar<sup>u</sup> et  
Ar<sup>m</sup> (at non Al<sup>p</sup>) eodem signo supra lin. scripto verba οἷον sqq. verbis ἡ μὲν ὕλη (1070a9)  
quodam modo coniuncta sunt J 19–21 Ps-Al verba οἷον ... τελευταία post ὑποκείμενον  
(1070a11) transponenda esse censuit 19–20 σὰρξ κεφαλή] σὰρξ ὅστούν κεφαλή Al<sup>p</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>  
citatioque incerta quae Alexandro adscribitur (sed non Ar<sup>u</sup>) Ps-Phil ἀλλὰ ... κεφαλή (fort.  
usque ad τελευταία 1070a21) post ὑποκείμενον (a 11) transferenda esse putavit 20 γάρ om.  
Al<sup>p</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> (at non praeterit Ar<sup>u</sup>) 20–21 καὶ ... τελευταία] *sunt materia postrema eius quod*  
*est dignius ut sit ens Alexandri quae dicitur citatio* (typis mandata in volumine Aristotelis  
*Metaph.* libros cum Averrois commentariis continenti, impr. Patavii anno Christi optimi  
MCCCCLXXIII [GW 2419, IGI 828, Pell 1229], fol. 7<sup>v</sup> libri duodecimi): καὶ ... τελευταία καὶ  
ἀδιαίρετος (fort. ἄτομος) ut vid. Al<sup>c</sup> et Ar<sup>m</sup> 21 αἷτια] τὰ αἷτια J<sup>b</sup>: om. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> ὡς  
προγεγενημένα] ὥσπερ γεγενημένα J η: ὡς προσγεγενημένα E<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup>: ὡς προσγεγενημένων E<sup>s</sup>: *hoc*  
*modo sunt* Ar<sup>u</sup> 22 ὁ pr. om. η 23 ἡ om. A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> J<sup>b</sup> ante corr. 26 ἡ om. A<sup>b</sup>  
πᾶσαν] πᾶσα V<sup>d</sup>: omne Lat<sup>a</sup> 27 δὴ] δ' I<sup>b</sup> διὰ γε] *praeter* Lat<sup>b</sup> typis descripta (sed *propter*  
Bess. transl. quae in cod. Marc. 490 Z invenitur)

εἶναι τὰς ἰδέας· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ, ὁ καθ'  
ἕκαστον τὸν τινά· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν· ἢ γὰρ  
30 ἱατρικὴ τέχνη ὁ λόγος τῆς ὑγείας ἐστίν.

## CAPUT QUARTUM

- 1070a31 Τὰ δ' αἷτια καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἄλλα ἄλλων ἔστιν ὥς, ἔστι  
δ' ὥς, ἂν καθόλου λέγῃ τις καὶ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, ταυτὰ 5  
πάντων. ἀπορήσειε γὰρ ἂν τις πότερον ἔτεροι ἢ αἱ αὐταὶ  
ἀρχαὶ καὶ στοιχεῖα τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς τι, καὶ καθ'  
35 ἐκάστην δὴ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ὁμοίως. ἀλλ' ἄτοπον εἰ ταυτὰ  
πάντων· ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ ἔσται τὰ πρὸς τι καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι.  
1070b1 τί οὖν τοῦτ' ἔσται; παρὰ γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ κα- 10  
τηγορούμενα οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κοινόν, πρότερον δὲ τὸ στοιχεῖον ἢ ὦν  
στοιχεῖον· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ οὐσία στοιχεῖον τῶν πρὸς  
τι, οὐδὲ τούτων οὐδὲν τῆς οὐσίας. ἔτι πῶς ἐνδέχεται πάντων  
5 εἶναι ταυτὰ στοιχεῖα; οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶόν τ' εἶναι τῶν στοιχείων  
τῷ ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων συγκειμένῳ τὸ αὐτό, οἶον τῷ BA τὸ 15  
B ἢ A (οὐδὲ δὴ τῶν νοητῶν στοιχεῖόν ἐστίν, οἶον τὸ ὄν ἢ τὸ ἔν·  
ὑπάρχει γὰρ ταῦτα ἐκάστω καὶ τῶν συνθέτων). οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἔσται  
αὐτῶν οὐτ' οὐσία οὕτε πρὸς τι· ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον. οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρα  
10 πάντων ταυτὰ στοιχεῖα. — ἢ ὥσπερ λέγομεν, ἔστι μὲν ὥς, ἔστι

1070a28–29 καθ' ἕκαστον] καθεκάστος A<sup>b</sup>: καθεκάστα V<sup>d</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: καθ' ἕκαστα M 30 ὁ om.  
A<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> ἐστίν om. A<sup>b</sup> (at vide notata ad 1070a31) 31 τὰ δ' ἔστι δὲ τὰ A<sup>b</sup> ἄλλα] ἄλλαι  
A<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> γρ, Ps-Al<sup>l</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> ἔστιν ὥς om. A<sup>b</sup> J initio, Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> 31–32 ἔστι δ' om. η 32 ὥς]  
ὥς οὐ ζ' M V<sup>d</sup> E (οὐ supra lin. add.) λέγῃ] λέγοι A<sup>b</sup>: λέγει V<sup>d</sup> καί] om. Lat<sup>a</sup> 33 πάντων]  
πάντα A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> ἀπορήσειε] ἀπορήσει V<sup>d</sup> γάρ] δ' J Ar<sup>m</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> ἔτεροι ἢ] om. Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> αἱ]  
om. V<sup>d</sup> ante corr. 34 τῶν πρὸς τι] Ar<sup>u</sup> singulari usus est numero 35 τῶν κατηγοριῶν]  
κατηγορίαν A<sup>b</sup> 36 πάντων om. Ar<sup>m</sup> γάρ om. V<sup>d</sup> τὰ] τὸ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> et ut vid. Them ac  
Lat<sup>b</sup> αἱ οὐσίαι I<sup>b</sup> T E correctus (αἱ alia manu supra lin. adscr.), Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: οὐσίαι ι η λ E<sup>s</sup> E<sup>l</sup> J  
corr.: οὐσία V<sup>d</sup> J primo: ἡ οὐσία A<sup>b</sup>: substantia Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Them 1070b2 ἐστι]  
ἐστὶ V<sup>d</sup> ὦν A<sup>b</sup> B D<sup>m</sup> Q Q<sup>c</sup> J<sup>a</sup> (verbis ἐστὶ τὸ deletis) a: ὦν ἐστὶ τὸ α λ: quorum est Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: ὦν  
ἐστὶ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 2–3 ἢ ὦν στοιχεῖον] om. Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> 5 ταυτὰ στοιχεῖα] τὰ στοιχεῖα ταυτὰ V<sup>d</sup>  
6 τῷ pr.] τῶν η E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> ἐκ τῶν α λ a Them Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Al ut vid.: ἐκ A<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> συγκειμένῳ]  
συγκειμένων L<sup>c</sup> τῷ alt.] τὸ λ J E<sup>s</sup> L<sup>c</sup> T Ar<sup>u</sup>: τῶν J<sup>b</sup> τὸ alt.] τῷ T λ Ar<sup>u</sup> 7 δὴ om. Ar<sup>u</sup> ut  
vid. νοητῶν abest ab Ar<sup>u</sup> στοιχεῖόν ἐστίν A<sup>b</sup> B D<sup>m</sup> Q Q<sup>c</sup> V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> et ut vid. J<sup>a</sup> correctus, N<sup>d</sup> a Lat<sup>b</sup>  
Lat<sup>a</sup> ut vid. (elementum): στοιχείων α λ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> οἶον om. κ ὄν ἢ τὸ ἔν A<sup>b</sup> B D D<sup>m</sup>  
Q V<sup>c</sup>: ens et unum Them Ar<sup>u</sup>: ὄν καὶ τὸ ἔν Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: ἐν ἢ τὸ ὄν η θ λ E J V<sup>d</sup> recc. plerique, Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup>  
Lat<sup>b</sup>: ἐν καὶ τὸ ὄν Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>: ἐν E<sup>s</sup> 8 ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρξει η ἐκάστω] ἐν ἐκάστω λ  
Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> καὶ om. M Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> συνθέτων] συνθέντων V<sup>d</sup> 10 ταυτὰ om. Ar<sup>u</sup>  
λέγομεν] ἐλέγομεν C γρ ὥς om. λ

δ' ὡς οὐ, οἷον ἴσως τῶν αἰσθητῶν σωμάτων ὡς μὲν εἶδος τὸ  
 θερμὸν καὶ ἄλλον τρόπον τὸ ψυχρὸν ἢ στέρησις, ὕλη δὲ τὸ  
 δυνάμει ταῦτα πρῶτον καθ' αὐτό, οὐσίαι δὲ ταῦτά τε καὶ  
 τὰ ἐκ τούτων, ὧν ἀρχαὶ ταῦτα, ἢ εἴ τι ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ  
 5 γίγνεται ἔν, οἷον σὰρξ ἢ ὅσπου· ἕτερον γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἐκείνων 15  
 εἶναι τὸ γενόμενον. τούτων μὲν οὖν ταῦτά στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀρχαὶ  
 (ἄλλων δ' ἄλλα), πάντων δὲ οὕτω μὲν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, τῷ ἀνά-  
 λογον δέ, ὥσπερ εἴ τις εἴποι ὅτι ἀρχαὶ εἰσὶ τρεῖς, τὸ εἶδος  
 καὶ ἡ στέρησις καὶ ἡ ὕλη. ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τούτων ἕτερον περὶ  
 10 ἕκαστον γένος ἐστίν, οἷον ἐν χρώματι λευκὸν μέλαν ἐπι- 1070 b20  
 φάνεια· φῶς σκότος ἀήρ, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐνυπάρχοντα αἷτια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐκτὸς οἷον τὸ κινεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ἕτερον ἀρχὴ καὶ στοιχεῖον,  
 αἷτια δ' ἄμφω [καὶ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή], τὸ δ'  
 15 ὡς κινεῖν ἢ ἰστὰν ἀρχὴ τις καὶ οὐσία, ὥστε στοιχεῖα μὲν 25  
 κατ' ἀναλογίαν τρία, αἷτια δὲ καὶ ἀρχαὶ τέτταρες· ἄλλο  
 δ' ἐν ἄλλῳ, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἷτιον ὡς κινεῖν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ.  
 ὕγεια, νόσος, σῶμα· τὸ κινεῖν ἰατρική. εἶδος, ἀταξία  
 τοιαδί, πλίνθοι· τὸ κινεῖν οἰκοδομική [καὶ εἰς ταῦτα διαι-  
 20 ρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή]. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινεῖν ἐν μὲν τοῖς φυσικοῖς (τὸ ὁμοειδὲς 30

1070 b 12 ὕλη A<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: ἡ ὕλη α λ 13 δυνάμει om. Ar<sup>u</sup> αὐτό αὐτά κ E<sup>b1</sup> I<sup>b</sup>: ἐαυτό A<sup>b</sup> οὐσίαι  
 οὐσία T Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> 14 ἀρχαί] αἱ ἀρχαὶ V<sup>d</sup> L<sup>c</sup> ἦ] abest ab Ar<sup>u</sup> (Ar<sup>m</sup> et praebebet) εἴ] ἐν M  
 θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ] ψυχροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 15 ἔν] non invenitur in Ar<sup>u</sup> ἦ] καὶ η  
 Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> 15–16 verba ἕτερον ... γενόμενον post τι (1070 b 9) transponenda esse censuit Ps-Al  
 16 ταῦτα J Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Them ut vid.: ταῦτα E ε λ Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup>: ταῦτα τῶν συνθέντων V<sup>d</sup> στοιχεῖα  
 καὶ ἀρχαί] principia et elementa Ar<sup>u</sup> 17 ἄλλων δ' ἄλλα] ἄλλα δ' ἄλλων ι Lat<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>  
 οὐκ] οὐδέν B<sup>b</sup> ἔστιν] ἔσται V<sup>d</sup> τῷ] τὸ A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> 18 εἴποι] εἴποιεν A<sup>b</sup>: εἴπει E<sup>b</sup> (eadem manu  
 litteris οἱ supra lin. additis) 19 καὶ pr.] om. η 20 χρώματι α Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>: χρώμασι  
 β 21 ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ] nox et dies Ar<sup>u</sup> καὶ A<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: om. α λ 22 καὶ τῶν] καὶ τὸ  
 η E<sup>s</sup> M Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup>: καὶ τὰ V<sup>d</sup> post corr. ut vid.: τὸ E<sup>b</sup>: καὶ τὰ τῶν κ I<sup>b</sup> post corr. 24 αἷτια  
 δ' ἄμφω] diversa sunt Ar<sup>m</sup> καὶ ... ἀρχή] om. Ar<sup>m</sup> et ut vid. Them, seclud. censuit Bonitz (Obs.  
 p. 130) καὶ εἰς ταῦτα] om. E<sup>b</sup> ante corr. 25 ἢ ἰστὰν om. Ar<sup>u</sup> et tertia Arabica ab Averro  
 commemorata translatio ἰστὰν] ἰστών A<sup>b</sup> M ζ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> καὶ οὐσία A<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> α C E: οὐσα α λ:  
 est Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> et alia Arab. transl. quae apud Averroem legitur: καὶ αἷτια suspicabatur  
 Bonitz μὲν om. J 26 αἷτια β Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: αἷτια α ἄλλο] ἄλλαι I<sup>b</sup> 27 ἐν om. Ar<sup>u</sup> et Ar<sup>m</sup> ut  
 vid. καὶ ... ἄλλῳ] V<sup>d</sup> in marg. add. τὸ non invenitur in Ar<sup>m</sup> πρῶτον] ποιητικὸν suspicatus  
 est Bonitz ἄλλῳ] in alio Lat<sup>b</sup> 28 εἶδος] εἰ δ' Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. 29 πλίνθοι om. Ar<sup>m</sup> καὶ εἰς]  
 καὶ δὴ εἰς η κ E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>d</sup> I<sup>b</sup> supra lin.: καὶ δι' εἰς J: καὶ δεῖ εἰς E<sup>b</sup> 29–30 καὶ ... ἀρχή om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>,  
 Bessarionis transl. quae codice Marc. Lat. 490 Z continetur, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>, del. Bonitz 30 ἀρχή]  
 αἷτια J<sup>b</sup> γρ 30–31 τὸ ὁμοειδὲς οἷον adiecit Christ, fort. legerit Them (simile est formā 10, 4  
 ed. Landauer)

οἶον) ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ διανοίας τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ ἐναντίον, τρόπον τινὰ τρία αἷτια ἂν εἴη, ὥδι δὲ τέτταρα. ὑγίεια γάρ πως ἢ ἰατρική, καὶ οἰκίας εἶδος ἢ οἰκοδομική, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ· ἔτι παρὰ ταῦτα τὸ ὡς πρῶτον  
 35 πάντων κινοῦν πάντα.

5

## CAPUT QUINTUM

1070b36 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν χωριστὰ τὰ δ' οὐ χωριστά, οὐσίαι  
 1071a1 ἐκεῖνα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντων αἷτια ταῦτά, ὅτι τῶν οὐσιῶν  
 ἄνευ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ πάθῃ καὶ αἱ κινήσεις. ἔπειτα ἔσται ταῦτα  
 ψυχῇ ἴσως καὶ σῶμα, ἢ νοῦς καὶ ὀρεξεις καὶ σῶμα. — ἔτι  
 δ' ἄλλον τρόπον τῷ ἀνάλογον ἀρχαὶ αἱ αὐταί, οἶον ἐνέρ- 10  
 5 γεια καὶ δύνάμεις· ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἄλλα τε ἄλλοις καὶ  
 ἄλλως. ἐν ἐνίοις μὲν γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ὅτε μὲν ἐνεργεῖα ἔστιν  
 ὅτε δὲ δυνάμει, οἶον οἶνος ἢ σὰρξ ἢ ἄνθρωπος (πίπτει δὲ  
 καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα αἷτια· ἐνεργεῖα μὲν γὰρ τὸ  
 εἶδος, ἐὰν ᾗ χωριστόν, καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, στέρησις δὲ οἶον 15  
 10 σκότος ἢ κάμνον, δυνάμει δὲ ἡ ὕλη· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ  
 δυνάμενον γίγνεσθαι ἄμφω)· ἄλλως δ' ἐνεργεῖα καὶ δυ-

1070b31 ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπος J<sup>b</sup> supra lin., Ar<sup>m</sup> Zeller: *hominis homo* Lat<sup>a</sup>; *homo namque hominem generat* Them explanans interpretando: ἀνθρώποις ἄνθρωπος E V<sup>d</sup> V<sup>k</sup> ε λ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: ἀνθρώποις ἄνθρωποι Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid.: ἄνθρωπος A<sup>b</sup> J Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ἔστι ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον inepte E mg. 32 δὲ om. J ante corr., Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. 33 ὑγίεια γάρ] ὑγιαστόν V<sup>d</sup>: ὑγιεινὰ γάρ C (sed in marg. ὑγίεια praebebet) ἢ pr. om. η 34 καὶ ... γεννᾷ om. H<sup>a</sup> τὸ ὡς Bessarionis transl. quae in cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z invenitur (*quod tanquam*), Bonitz: ὡς τὸ ω ὡς om. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> atque abest ab Ar<sup>m</sup> 35 κινοῦν πάντα om. Ar<sup>m</sup> et non reperitur in Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> πάντα] τὰ πάντα T 36 οὐσίαι] οὐσία E γρ, I<sup>b</sup> γρ 1071a1 ἐκεῖνα] ἐκεῖνα J E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> ante corr. ut vid., P<sup>b</sup> ut vid., V<sup>d</sup> E (sed supra lin. legitur -α) η Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> καὶ om. A<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> τοῦτο om. Lat<sup>a</sup> ταῦτά H<sup>a</sup> Christ: ταῦτα E J E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> β η Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 3 ἢ ... σῶμα om. J<sup>l</sup>: *aut intellectus aut desiderium in corpore* Ar<sup>m</sup> Al ut vid. post σῶμα alt. Ps-Al<sup>l</sup> ἢ σῶμα καὶ ὀρεξεις forsitan legerit 4 ἀρχαί] αἱ ἀρχαὶ λ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> αἱ om. E ante corr. 4–5 ἐνεργεῖα καὶ δύνάμεις] *potentia et actus* Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> fort. Al (cf. Averrois verba 1537, 12–14 ed. Bouyges) 4–6 ἐνεργεῖα ... ἄλλως om. E ante corr. 5 ταῦτα] *haec eadem* Ar<sup>u</sup> ἄλλα τε] ἄλλοτε λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Them: τὰ ἄλλα τε J<sup>b</sup> ἄλλοις] *in aliis* Lat<sup>b</sup> 6 ἐν om. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 7 οἶνος] ἡ νόσος E<sup>b1</sup> E<sup>s</sup> P<sup>b</sup>: ἡ νόσος I<sup>b</sup> ante corr., P<sup>b</sup> supra lin., η: ἡ οἶνος E<sup>b2</sup>: ἡ νόσος atque οἶνος leguntur in Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> verba ἢ ἄνθρωπος spernenda censebat Christ 8 ἐνεργεῖα E Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup>, Lat<sup>b</sup> typis mandata, Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>: ἐνεργεῖα J V<sup>k</sup> β ε Lat<sup>s</sup>, translationis Bess. cod. Marc. 490 Z, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 9 χωριστόν] τὸ χωριστόν A<sup>b</sup> καὶ] ἡ E γρ (alio atramento), Them οἶον] *et* Bessarionis transl. quae in cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z invenitur 10 δυνάμει ... ὕλη post ἀμφοῖν (1071a9) leguntur in V<sup>k</sup> γάρ] *et* Ar<sup>m</sup> fort. Al (cf. 1537, 12–14 ed. Bouyges)

- νάμει διαφέρει ὦν μὴ ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὴ ὕλη, ὦν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος ἀλλ' ἕτερον, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου αἷτιον τὰ τε στοι-  
 χεία, πῦρ καὶ γῆ ὡς ὕλη καὶ τὸ ἴδιον εἶδος, καὶ ἔτι τι  
 ἄλλο ἔξω οἶον ὁ πατήρ, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ 15  
 5 λοξὸς κύκλος, οὔτε ὕλη ὄντα οὔτ' εἶδος οὔτε στέρησις οὔτε  
 ὁμοειδές ἀλλὰ κινούνται. ἔτι δὲ ὁρᾶν δεῖ ὅτι τὰ μὲν κα-  
 θόλου ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, τὰ δ' οὐ. πάντων δὴ πρῶται ἀρχαὶ τὸ  
 ἐνεργεῖα πρῶτον τοδὶ καὶ ἄλλο ὃ δυνάμει. ἐκεῖνα  
 μὲν οὖν τὰ καθόλου οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον 1071a20  
 10 τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον· ἀνθρώπος μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου καθόλου,  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέως σοῦ δὲ ὁ  
 πατήρ, καὶ τοδὶ τὸ B τοῦδὶ τοῦ BA, ὅλως δὲ τὸ B τοῦ  
 ἀπλῶς BA. ἔπειτα, εἰ δὴ τὰ τῶν οὐσιῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἄλλων  
 αἷτια καὶ στοιχεῖα, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, τῶν μὴ ἐν ταύτῳ γέ- 25  
 15 νει, χρωμάτων ψόφων οὐσιῶν ποσότητος, πλὴν τῷ ἀνά-  
 λογον· καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῳ εἶδει ἕτερα, οὐκ εἶδει ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἄλλο, ἢ τε σὴ ὕλη καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ  
 κινήσαν καὶ ἡ ἐμή, τῷ καθόλου δὲ λόγῳ ταυτά. τὸ δὴ  
 ζητεῖν τίνες ἀρχαὶ ἢ στοιχεῖα τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ πρὸς τι καὶ 30  
 20 ποιῶν, πότερον αἱ αὐταὶ ἢ ἕτεραι, δῆλον ὅτι πολλαχῶς γε  
 λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἐκάστου, διαιρεθέντων δὲ οὐ ταυτά ἀλλ'

1071a12 ὦν alt.] καὶ ὦν E γρ et ut vid. Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> ac Them: ἡ ὦν Zeller: ὦν ἐνίων Ross οὐκ] μὴ I<sup>b</sup> x  
 13 τε] γε C 14 ἴδιον] αἷτιον d J<sup>a</sup> N<sup>d</sup> u V<sup>a</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> a ἔτι τι Ar<sup>u</sup> Ross, fort. Ar<sup>m</sup>: εἰ ἔτι A<sup>b</sup> D<sup>m</sup> Q: ἔτι  
 εἰ B D: εἴ τι α λ et recc. reliqui, Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 17 ἄλλὰ] neque Lat<sup>a</sup> κινούνται] movens Ar<sup>m</sup>,  
 fort. Al (cf. 1537, 12–14 ed. Bouyges) δὲ om. A<sup>b</sup> 18 πάντων om. Ar<sup>u</sup> δὴ] δὲ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>  
 19 τοδὶ] τῷ εἶδει A<sup>b</sup> B c D D<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> Q Q<sup>c</sup> u U<sup>c</sup> J<sup>a</sup> γρ, a: τὸ εἶδει V<sup>a</sup>: om. Lat<sup>b</sup> typis mandata (at in  
 cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z legitur hoc aliquid) ἄλλο] ἄλλο τι I<sup>b</sup> post corr.: ἄλλο τὸ vitiose E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>d</sup>, I<sup>b</sup>  
 ante corr., η ι 20 οὖν om. V<sup>d</sup> τὰ om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> τὸ] τὰ η 20–21 καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν om. J  
 initio 21 τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον om. A<sup>b</sup> M J<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> 22 οὐδεὶς] nemini vel neminis Ar<sup>u</sup> σοῦ]  
 οὐ Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. 23 τὸ alt. om. E J C E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>d</sup> η ι 24 ἔπειτα] ἐπεὶ τὰ Ar<sup>u</sup> et alia transl. Arab.  
 quae apud Averroem legitur (p. 1546, 13 ed. Bouyges) εἰ δὴ Rolfes: εἶδη A<sup>b</sup> J sub lin., fortasse E  
 initio, ζ Ar<sup>u</sup>: τὰ εἶδη V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Christ: species Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: ἡδη J V<sup>d</sup> E post corr., H<sup>a</sup> supra lin., η Lat<sup>s</sup>  
 τὰ om. E<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> δὲ] γε suspicatus est Ross 26 ποσότητος] ποσότητι V<sup>d</sup>: quantitatium Lat<sup>a</sup>  
 πλὴν om. Lat<sup>b</sup> typis expressa (at non cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z) 27 ταύτῳ] τῷ αὐτῷ A<sup>b</sup>: αὐτῷ  
 λ 28 τῶν H<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup> J supra lin., E primo, β η: τῷ E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> E correctus: τὸ J E<sup>s</sup> T ἡ τε σὴ ὕλη]  
 et materia Ar<sup>u</sup> 28–29 τὸ pr. ... κινήσαν] τὸ κινήσαν καὶ τὸ εἶδος A<sup>b</sup> 29 ἡ ἐμή] εἰ μὴ Ar<sup>u</sup>  
 ut vid.: species, ac mea materia Lat<sup>b</sup> typis excusa (sed cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z ac mea preabet)  
 λόγῳ] λέγω M Ps-Phil<sup>l</sup> δὴ E E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> post corr. η x Ps-Al<sup>l</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: δὲ J V<sup>d</sup> β Ar<sup>u</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>l</sup> 30 ἡ]  
 καὶ H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-Al<sup>l</sup> (658, 3 ed. Bonitz) οὐσιῶν] substantiae Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> πρὸς τι] τῶν πρὸς  
 τι Jaeger 31 ποιῶν] quantitatis Ar<sup>m</sup> ὅτι] ὅτι τὸ E<sup>b</sup> ante corr.: ὅτι τῶν E<sup>b</sup> post corr. γε  
 Christ: τε ω Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 32 λεγομένων] λέγομεν ὡς Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid.

ἕτερα, πλὴν ὥδι καὶ πάντων, ὥδι μὲν ταῦτά [ἦ] τῷ ἀνά-  
 λογον, ὅτι ὕλη, εἶδος, στέρησις, τὸ κινεῖν, καὶ ὥδι τὰ τῶν  
 35 οὐσιῶν αἷτια ὡς αἷτια πάντων, ὅτι ἀναιρεῖται ἀναιρουμένων·  
 ἔτι τὸ πρῶτον ἐντελεχείᾳ· ὥδι δὲ ἕτερα πρῶτα ὅσα τὰ  
 ἐναντία ἅ μῆτε ὡς γένη λέγεται μῆτε πολλαχῶς λέγε- 5  
 1071b1 ται· καὶ ἔτι αἱ ὕλαι. τίνες μὲν οὖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
 καὶ πόσαι, καὶ πῶς αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ πῶς ἕτεραι, εἴρηται.

## CAPUT SEXTUM

1071b3 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν τρεῖς οὐσίαι, δύο μὲν αἱ φυσικαὶ μία  
 δ' ἡ ἀκίνητος, περὶ ταύτης λεκτέον ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἀίδιον  
 τινὰ οὐσίαν ἀκίνητον. αἷ τε γὰρ οὐσίαι πρῶται τῶν ὄντων, 10  
 καὶ εἰ πᾶσαι φθαρταί, πάντα φθαρτά· ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον  
 κίνησιν ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ φθαρῆναι (αἰ γὰρ ἦν), οὐδὲ χρόνον.  
 οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον εἶναι μὴ ὄντος χρό-  
 νου· καὶ ἡ κίνησις ἄρα οὕτω συνεχῆς ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ χρό-  
 10 νος· ἡ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ κινήσεώς τι πάθος. κίνησις δ' οὐκ 15  
 ἔστι συνεχῆς ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ τόπον, καὶ ταύτης ἡ κύκλω.  
 Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ ἔστι κινήτικόν ἢ ποιητικόν, μὴ ἐνεργοῦν δέ  
 τι, οὐκ ἔσται κίνησις· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὸ δύναμιν ἔχον μὴ  
 ἐνεργεῖν. οὐδὲν ἄρα ὀφελος οὐδ' ἐὰν οὐσίας ποιήσωμεν αἰ-  
 15 δίους, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ εἶδη, εἰ μὴ τις δυναμένη ἐνέσται ἀρχῇ 20

1071a33 μὲν] δὲ A<sup>b</sup> ἦ β γ recc. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> in marg. cod. A<sup>b</sup> scripta, Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid.: ἦ E (sine  
 iota subscr.), Lat<sup>a</sup> ut vid.: om. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> in cod. Paris. 1876 asservata, Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid.,  
 Lat<sup>b</sup>, secl. Bonitz τῷ E E<sup>b</sup> J L<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> J<sup>b</sup> post corr. β ζ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid.: τὸ B D Z  
 Ross 34 ὕλη] ἡ ὕλη V<sup>d</sup>: om. Ar<sup>m</sup> στέρησις om. Ar<sup>m</sup> τὸ κινεῖν] *commune* Lat<sup>a</sup> ὥδι] ὅτι  
 Them ut vid., Bonitz 35 αἷτια pr. om. Ar<sup>u</sup> 36 ἐντελεχείᾳ] ἐντελέχεια E γρ ἕτερα om.  
 Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> ὅσα supervacaneum esse putat Ps-Al: ὡς suspicabatur Jaeger 37 μῆτε pr.] οὐτε  
 Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> λέγεται] om. H<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> μῆτε alt.] οὐτε Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> 37-1071b1 λέγεται]  
 non legitur in Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>, secl. Jaeger 1071b1 ἔτι αἱ ὕλαι] *causae et materiae* Lat<sup>a</sup> τίνες om.  
 Lat<sup>a</sup> αἱ ἀρχαὶ T β η: ἀρχαὶ E J V<sup>d</sup> ζ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: principium Lat<sup>a</sup> 2 καὶ πόσαι bis E πῶς alt. om.  
 A<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> 3 οὐσίαι] αἱ οὐσίαι Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Al<sup>l</sup> (685, 25; sed cf. 687, 23) 3-4 μία δ'] καὶ  
 μία J<sup>l</sup> (δ supra lin. add. J<sup>2</sup>), ε 4-5 ἀίδιον τινὰ] τινὰ ἀίδιον A<sup>b</sup> T atque Ar<sup>m</sup> et Ar<sup>u</sup> (*substantiam  
 quandam aeternam*) 7 ἡ alt.] *non* Ar<sup>u</sup> 9 ἡ supra lin. V<sup>d</sup> ἄρα] ἄρα μὴ E<sup>b</sup> ante corr.:  
 γὰρ E γρ (supra lin. manu poster. add.) ὁ om. V<sup>d</sup> 10 ἡ κινήσεώς] ἡ κίνησις εἰς fort. Ar<sup>u</sup>  
 11 ἀλλ' ἡ ἢ V<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: ἀλλ' ἡ E J A<sup>b</sup> B D M Q: ἀλλ' ἡ ἢ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: ἀλλ' ἡ V<sup>d</sup> ε λ cett. recc., a C  
 12 εἰ om. H<sup>a</sup> 1 et initio J ἔσται] ἔσται J E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> E corr. (αι in litura scr.), η Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> ἡ  
 ποιητικόν om. J<sup>l</sup> 13 ἔσται] ἔσται E β Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 14 οὐδὲν] οὐθὲν A<sup>b</sup> οὐδ' ἐάν] οὐδὲ ἂν V<sup>d</sup>  
 λ: οὐδ' ἂν Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>



- μεταβάλλειν· οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' αὕτη ἰκανή, οὐδ' ἄλλη οὐσία  
 παρὰ τὰ εἶδη· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐνεργήσῃ, οὐκ ἔσται κίνησις. ἔτι  
 οὐδ' εἰ ἐνεργήσῃ, ἡ δ' οὐσία αὐτῆς δυνάμεις· οὐ γὰρ ἔσται  
 κίνησις αἰδίου· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὸ δυνάμει ὄν μὴ εἶναι. δεῖ  
 5 ἄρα εἶναι ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην ἧς ἡ οὐσία ἐνέργεια. ἔτι τοίνυν 1071b20  
 ταύτας δεῖ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι ἄνευ ὕλης· αἰδίου γὰρ δεῖ,  
 εἴπερ γε καὶ ἄλλο τι αἰδίον. ἐνέργεια ἄρα. καίτοι ἀπο-  
 ρία· δοκεῖ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐνεργοῦν πᾶν δύνασθαι τὸ δὲ δυ-  
 νάμενον οὐ πᾶν ἐνεργεῖν, ὥστε πρότερον εἶναι τὴν δυνάμιν.  
 10 ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἔσται τῶν ὄντων· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ 25  
 δύνασθαι μὲν εἶναι μήπω δ' εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ὥς λέγουσιν  
 οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ νυκτὸς γεννῶντες, ἢ ὥς οἱ φυσικοὶ  
 “ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματά” φασι, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον. πῶς γὰρ  
 κινήθησεται, εἰ μὴ ἔσται ἐνεργεία τι αἴτιον· οὐ γὰρ ἢ γε  
 15 ὕλη κινήσῃ αὐτὴ ἑαυτήν, ἀλλὰ τεκτονική, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπι- 30  
 μήνια οὐδ' ἡ γῆ, ἀλλὰ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ ἡ γονή. διὸ  
 ἔνιοι ποιοῦσιν αἰεὶ ἐνέργειαν, οἷον Λεύκιππος καὶ Πλάτων·  
 αἰεὶ γὰρ εἶναι φασι κίνησιν. ἀλλὰ διὰ τί καὶ τίνα οὐ λέ-  
 γουσιν, οὐδὲ διὰ τί ὥδι ἢ ὥδι οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὥς  
 20 ἔτυχε κινεῖται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τι αἰεὶ ὑπάρχειν, ὥσπερ νῦν φύσει μὲν 35  
 ὥδι, βία δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ νοῦ ἢ ἄλλου ὥδι. εἴτα ποία πρώτη;

1071b16 τοίνυν] μὴν λ E<sup>b2</sup> αὕτη] αὐτὴ A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J P<sup>b</sup> οὐσία non legitur in Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> (Abū Bishr Mattā fort. legerit οὐσα) 17 ἐνεργήσῃ] ἐνεργήσῃ A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup>: exstat Ar<sup>m</sup> ἔσται] ἔστι A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b1</sup> 20 ἡ om. V<sup>k</sup> λ 21 ταύτας ... ὕλης] τάσδε τὰς οὐσίας ἄνευ εἶναι δεῖ ὕλης κ ταύτας] tales Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> τὰς om. A<sup>b</sup> 22 γε om. A<sup>b</sup> T ἐνέργεια β ζ Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>, transl. Bess. quae in cod. Marc. 490 Z legitur, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: ἐνεργεία η V<sup>d</sup>: ἐνεργεία E: ἐνεργεῖαι E γρ: ἐνεργεῖαι J: actu Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> (typis exscripta) 26 εἰ] δ' T: om. λ V<sup>d</sup> ante corr., Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> 27 οἱ θεολόγοι om. η ὥς οἱ A<sup>b</sup> δ Lat<sup>s</sup> ut vid.: οἱ E λ J (ὥς alio atramento supra lin. addito), Lat<sup>a</sup> atque ut vid. Ar<sup>u</sup> et Ar<sup>m</sup>: ὥς E γρ manu posteriore 28 ἦν ὁμοῦ A<sup>b</sup> J (η et ν alio atramento supra lineam appositae sunt), δ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Them (14, 21 ed. Landauer), Ar<sup>m</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> (typis descripta): ὁμοῦ E J<sup>1</sup> λ: simul erunt Bessarionis transl. codice Marc. 490 Z tradita ἀδύνατον] αἴτιον Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 28–29 πῶς ... κινήθησεται om. H<sup>a</sup> 29 μὴ] μὴν A<sup>b</sup> τι om. A<sup>b</sup>, vocabulum Arabicum par Graeco ti non leg. in Ar<sup>m</sup> (deest Ar<sup>u</sup>) 31 τὰ σπέρματα] semen Ar<sup>u</sup> 32 Plato et Leucippus Ar<sup>m</sup> 33 αἰεὶ non reperitur in Ar<sup>m</sup> 33–34 ἀλλὰ ... λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ διὰ τί ὥδι ἢ ὥδι οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν forsitan legerit Ps-Al ( ... διὰ τί ὥδι μὲν τάδε κινούνται ὥδι δὲ τάδε, τούτων τὴν αἰτίαν οὐ λέγουσιν Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>): ἀλλὰ ... λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ ὥδι οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν codd. Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup>: ἀλλὰ ... λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ διὰ τί ὥδι οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν C γρ: cur vero vel quem, non aiunt, nec cur sic, nec causam Lat<sup>b</sup>: sed non dicunt cur sit hoc modo nec qua de causa Ar<sup>u</sup>: sed cur et quem non indicant nec causam Ar<sup>m</sup>: ἀλλὰ ... λέγουσιν, οὐδ' εἰ ὥδι ἢ ὥδι τὴν αἰτίαν Diels: ἀλλὰ ..., οὐδ' εἰ ὥδι τὴν αἰτίαν Zeller: ἀλλὰ ..., οὐδὲ τοῦ ὥδι τὴν αἰτίαν Schwegler: ἀλλὰ ..., οὐδὲ τοῦ ὥδι ἢ ὥδι τὴν αἰτίαν Jaeger 35 τι αἰεὶ] αἰεὶ τι A<sup>b</sup>: τι αἰεὶ αἴτιον Usener: τι διὰ τί Jackson: τιν' αἰεὶ suspicabatur Ross ὑπάρχειν] praeexistat Lat<sup>b</sup> 36 ἢ ὑπὸ νοῦ om. Ar<sup>m</sup> ὥδι alt. non invenitur in Ar<sup>m</sup> (Ar<sup>u</sup> hic mutila)

διαφέρει γὰρ ἀμήχανον ὅσον. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Πλάτωνί  
 1072a1 γε οἶόν τε λέγειν ἦν οἷται ἐνίοτε ἀρχὴν εἶναι, τὸ αὐτὸ  
 ἑαυτὸ κινεῖν· ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡ ψυχὴ,  
 ὡς φησίν. τὸ μὲν δὴ δύναιμι οἷσθαι ἐνεργείας πρότερον  
 ἔστι μὲν ὡς καλῶς ἔστι δ' ὡς οὐ (εἴρηται δὲ πῶς)· ὅτι δ' 5  
 5 ἐνεργεῖα πρότερον, μαρτυρεῖ Ἀναξαγόρας (ὁ γὰρ νοῦς ἐνεργεία) καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ νεῖκος, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ λέγοντες κίνησιν εἶναι, ὥσπερ Λεύκιππος· ὥστ' οὐκ ἦν ἄπειρον χρόνον χάος ἢ νύξ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά αἰεὶ ἢ περιόδῳ ἢ ἄλλως, εἴπερ πρότερον ἐνεργεῖα δυνάμεως. εἰ δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ 10  
 10 αἰεὶ περιόδῳ, δεῖ τι αἰεὶ μένειν ὡσαύτως ἐνεργοῦν. εἰ δὲ μέλλει γένεσις καὶ φθορὰ εἶναι, ἄλλο δεῖ εἶναι αἰεὶ ἐνεργοῦν ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως. ἀνάγκη ἄρα ὡδὶ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὡδὶ δὲ καθ' ἄλλο· ἦτοι ἄρα καθ' ἕτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον. ἀνάγκη δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο· πάλιν γὰρ ἐκεῖνο 15  
 15 αὐτῷ τε αἴτιον καὶ κείνῳ. οὐκοῦν βέλτιον τὸ πρῶτον· καὶ γὰρ αἴτιον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τοῦ αἰεὶ ὡσαύτως· τοῦ δ' ἄλλως ἕτερον, τοῦ δ' αἰεὶ ἄλλως ἄμφω δηλονότι. οὐκοῦν οὕτως καὶ ἔχουσιν αἰεὶ κινήσεις. τί οὖν ἄλλας δεῖ ζητεῖν ἀρχάς;

## CAPUT SEPTIMUM

1072a19 Ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτω τ' ἐνδέχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ οὕτως, ἐκ νυ- 20  
 20 κτὸς ἔσται καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντων καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος, λύοιτ' ἂν ταῦτα, καὶ ἔστι τι αἰεὶ κινούμενον κίνησιν ἄπαυστον, αὕτη δ' ἢ κύκλῳ (καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλ' ἔργῳ δῆλον), ὥστ' ἀΐδιος ἂν εἴη ὁ πρῶτος οὐρανός. ἔστι τοίνυν τι καὶ ὁ

1071b37 διαφέρειν A<sup>b</sup> ὅσον om. A<sup>b</sup> Πλάτωνί] πλάτων εἴ A<sup>b</sup>: *Platonicis* Lat<sup>a</sup> 1072a1 ἦν om. A<sup>b</sup> ἐνίοτε om. V<sup>d</sup> 2 καὶ non legitur in Ar<sup>m</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 3 πρότερον] πρότερον εἶναι κ: προτέραν λ E<sup>b2</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 4 δὲ om. M C ante corr. δ' alt.] δ' ἢ L<sup>c</sup> J<sup>b</sup> mg.: δὲ β 5 συμμαρτυρεῖ γ 5-6 ἐνεργεῖα V<sup>d</sup> T E<sup>b</sup> ut vid., λ Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup>: ἐνεργεῖα A<sup>b</sup> E J I<sup>b</sup> x η Ar<sup>m</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 6 τὸ om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> νίκος J sine accentu, Ar<sup>m</sup> Them (cf. p. 14, 31 ed. Landauer et Buxtorf col. 1380, 24 *victoria*) οἱ αἰεὶ] οἶα οἱ J 8 χρόνου A<sup>b</sup> ἢ pr.] καὶ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> 9 δὴ] δεῖ κ 10 δεῖ om. J ante corr. τι ... ἐνεργοῦν] τι μένειν ἐνεργοῦν ὡσαύτως αἰεὶ γ 11 αἰεὶ om. Ar<sup>m</sup> (Ar<sup>m</sup> deest) 11-12 εἶναι αἰεὶ ἐνεργοῦν A<sup>b</sup>: ἐνεργοῦν εἶναι E J E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> γ: ἐνεργοῦν H<sup>a</sup> λ 15 αὐτῷ A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> E<sup>b</sup> γ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup>: αὐτῷ E J C Ar<sup>m</sup> et alia Araba apud Averroem servata translatio (1584, 12 ed. Bouyges) τὸ πρῶτον om. Lat<sup>a</sup> 17 οὕτως] οὕτω C: *si sic* Lat<sup>g</sup> καὶ om. V<sup>d</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> 18 δεῖ non legitur in Ar<sup>m</sup> 19 ἐπεὶ] *si non* Ar<sup>m</sup> δ'] δ' οὖν C ϑ 20 ὁμοῦ] ἐξ ὁμοῦ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> ἐκ μὴ] μὴ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> ὄντος] ὄντων γ 21 καὶ *quia* Ar<sup>m</sup> τι om. I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b1</sup> H<sup>a1</sup> γ 22 μόνον λόγῳ A<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 23 ἂν εἴη] εἴη E<sup>b1</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> γ κ: ἦν M τοίνυν om. I<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b1</sup> x Ar<sup>m</sup> τι om. V<sup>k</sup> B<sup>b</sup> D

κινεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον καὶ κινοῦν [καί] μέσον, ἔστι  
τοῖνυν τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ, αἰθρὶον καὶ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια 25  
οὐσία. κινεῖ δὲ ὧδε τὸ ὀρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν· κινεῖ οὐ κινού-  
μενα. τούτων τὰ πρῶτα τὰ αὐτά. ἐπιθυμητὸν μὲν γάρ  
5 τὸ φαινόμενον καλόν, βουλευτὸν δὲ πρῶτον τὸ ὄν καλόν·  
ὀρεγόμεθα δὲ διότι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖ διότι ὀρεγόμεθα·  
ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἡ νόησις. νοῦς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ κινεῖται, νοητὴ δὲ 1072a30  
ἡ ἑτέρα συστοιχία καθ' αὐτήν· καὶ ταύτης ἡ οὐσία πρώτη,  
καὶ ταύτης ἡ ἀπλή καὶ κατ' ἐνέργειαν (ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἐν καὶ  
10 τὸ ἀπλοῦν οὐ τὸ αὐτό· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν μέτρον σημαίνει, τὸ  
δὲ ἀπλοῦν πῶς ἔχον αὐτό). ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ  
τὸ δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συστοιχίᾳ· καὶ ἔστιν ἄριστον 35

1072a24 κινεῖ] κινεῖ οὐ κινούμενον Ar<sup>m</sup> (cf. Walzer 229) τὸ om. B<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup> E ante corr., λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> (sed non om. Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>) Ar<sup>m</sup> aliaque transl. Araba qua usus est Averroes (cf. 1591, 8 ed. Bouyges). Forsitan hi interpretes etiam καὶ pro τὸ legerint (cf. GALEX 182, 20). κινούμενον] Hic unus e scholiastis codicis E in mg. consignat: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον καὶ κινοῦν μέσον ἐστίν. καὶ alt. om. V<sup>k</sup> A<sup>b</sup> manu pr. correctus, J<sup>a</sup> et f emendati codicesque de tribus posterioribus descripti B c D d D<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> O<sup>c</sup> Q Q<sup>c</sup> u U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>a</sup> V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> Z; a C Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>, quaedam transl. Arab. ut vid. (1591, 8 ed. Bouyges), fort. Al (cf. 1589, 4 ed. Bouyges); delendum esse cens. Bonitz, secl. Ross, in app. crit. cum textum restituere conabatur om. Jaeger (cum his cf. et verba supra commemorata, ad κινούμενον 1072a24 pertinentia, quae in marg. leguntur codicis E): καὶ alt. praebeant B<sup>b</sup> C J<sup>a</sup> A<sup>b</sup> initio, α ac nonnulli recc., Ps-Al<sup>cp</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> μέσον] μή, ὄν interpretatione nisus Themistii Jackson, fort. Them. Plura post μέσον excidisse opinabatur Jaeger, quod quidem in incerto reliquit Bonitz (vide eius app. crit.) 24–25 καὶ κινοῦν ... κινούμενον om. M ἔστι τοῖνυν Lat<sup>b</sup>, satis certe Ar<sup>m</sup> ac tertia Arab. transl. apud Averroem servata (Cf. GALEX 182, 19 atque 1588, 3, 1591, 8–9, 13 ed. Bouyges; verba quibus hi interpretes ἔστι τοῖνυν 1072a23 in linguam vertunt Arabam eodem ordine etiam in 1072a24–25 inveniuntur), Bonitz: τοῖνυν ἔστι A<sup>b</sup> C E E<sup>s</sup> J V<sup>d</sup> E<sup>b2</sup> H<sup>a2</sup> γ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup>: ἔστι H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> et initio E<sup>b</sup>: in lac. om. M V<sup>k</sup>: τρίτον ἔστι Case 25 τι om. C ante corr., B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>s</sup> V<sup>k</sup> in lac. et semel Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> (693.24, sed cf. 693.27) καὶ alt.] αἰεῖ Ar<sup>u</sup> ἐνέργεια E β δ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Al ut vid. ac tertia transl. Araba (1591, 9 ed. Bouyges): ἐνεργεία Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Them Hebraice at non Arabice (cf. 16.15 et 17.23 ed. Landauer atque 14.20 ed. Badawi): sine accentu J: in lac. om. Ar<sup>m</sup> 25–26 αἰθρὶον ... οὐσία om. Ar<sup>m</sup> 26 οὐσα] ὄν Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> ὧδε] sicut Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> (at non Them Ar<sup>u</sup>) καὶ non invenitur in Ar<sup>u</sup> τὸ alt. om. T 26–27 κινούμενα E J V<sup>d</sup> V<sup>k</sup> f<sup>1</sup> η θ λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>: κινούμενον A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup>, f et J<sup>a</sup> correcti, a Lat<sup>b</sup> 27 μὲν γάρ] γάρ μὲν A<sup>b</sup>: γάρ H<sup>a</sup> J initio: μὲν M Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: et Ar<sup>m</sup> 29 δέ] δὴ fort. Ar<sup>u</sup> διότι pr. A<sup>b</sup> E γρ manu rec., Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: ὅτι V<sup>k</sup> α λ a: καὶ ὅτι C γρ μᾶλλον] καλὸν E corr. (sed in marg. v. l. μᾶλλον posteriore manu est addita), I<sup>b</sup> correctus, Lat<sup>a</sup> 30 γάρ E V<sup>k</sup> γ λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: δέ A<sup>b</sup> E γρ, Ar<sup>u</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> ἡ νόησις] imaginatio per intellectum Ar<sup>m</sup> ἡ νόησις ... κινεῖται] in sensu quod sensibile est et vero actio vitiose Ar<sup>u</sup> (Bouyges intellectus pro actio legere mavult, cf. 1598, v 2, n. 3) κινεῖται om. A<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> 31 ἡ alt. om. A<sup>b</sup> 31–32 ἡ οὐσία ... ταύτης om. J<sup>1</sup> 32 ταύτης ἡ om. A<sup>b</sup> καὶ alt. om. H<sup>a</sup> T V<sup>a</sup> b Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> et fort. Ar<sup>m</sup> (cf. 1598, 6 n. 11 atque 1603, 5 n. 57 ed. Bouyges) 33 τὸ pr. A<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup>: om. E E<sup>s</sup> J V<sup>d</sup> η ι λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> γάρ om. A<sup>b</sup> 34 πῶς Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ross: πῶς ω Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> τὸ καλὸν καὶ om. Ar<sup>m</sup> 35 τὸ δι' αὐτὸ] τὸ δι' αὐτὸ A<sup>b</sup> C E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> T: δι' αὐτὸ V<sup>k</sup>: τὸ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> omittendo δι' αὐτὸ (Haec verba non om. e. gr. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> et Ps-Phil<sup>cp</sup>): hoc Lat<sup>a</sup> τῇ αὐτῇ] τῇ τοιαύτῃ E post corr. (τοι supra lin. add.): ταύτῃ Ar<sup>m</sup> ἄριστον] fort. ἀρεστὸν Ar<sup>u</sup>

1072b1 ἀεὶ ἢ ἀνάλογον τὸ πρῶτον. ὅτι δ' ἔστι τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα ἐν τοῖς  
ἀκινήτοις, ἢ διαίρεσις δηλοῖ· ἔστι γὰρ τινὶ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ  
τινός, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔστι τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι. κινεῖ δὴ ὡς ἐρώμενον,  
κινουμένων δὲ τὰλλα κινεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν τι κινεῖται, ἐνδέχεται καὶ ἄλ-  
5 λως ἔχειν, ὥστ' εἰ [ἢ] φορὰ πρώτη ἢ ἐνέργειά ἐστιν, ἢ κι- 5  
νεῖται ταύτη γε ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως ἔχειν, κατὰ τόπον, καὶ  
εἰ μὴ κατ' οὐσίαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστι τι κινεῖν αὐτὸ ἀκίνητον ὄν,  
ἐνέργεια ὄν, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐδαμῶς. φορὰ  
γὰρ ἢ πρώτη τῶν μεταβολῶν, ταύτης δὲ ἢ κύκλω· ταύ-  
10 την δὲ τοῦτο κινεῖ. ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄρα ἐστὶν ὄν· καὶ ἢ ἀνάγκη, 10  
καλῶς, καὶ οὕτως ἀρχή. τὸ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τοσαυταχῶς,  
τὸ μὲν βίᾳ ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ὀρμήν, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ τὸ εὖ,  
τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐνδεχόμενον ἄλλως ἄλλ' ἀπλῶς. — ἐκ τοιαύτης  
ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἡρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις. διαγωγὴ δ'  
15 ἐστὶν οἷα ἢ ἀρίστη μικρὸν χρόνον ἡμῖν (οὕτω γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐκείνω· 15

1072b1 ἀεὶ] εἰ Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid. ἢ om. A<sup>b</sup> initio, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> (ἢ in litura praebebat J) In E legitur supra lineam γρ. καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἢ. Ar<sup>m</sup> particulam ἢ non testatur (fort. ἢ scriptum erat; cf. Bouyges, *Notice* CLXXIV) 1-3 om. ἐν ... τινός M 2 τινὶ] διττὸν ci. Schwegler, Bonitz 2-3 καὶ τινός J<sup>a</sup> initio, V<sup>d</sup> supra lin. et ut vid. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (cf. e.gr. 695.29-30), Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Christ: τινός A<sup>b</sup> recentioresque B D D<sup>m</sup> Z ex hac stirpe orti: καὶ cui adiuncta est corruptela quae nihilo minus vestigium quoddam rectae conservat lectionis Ar<sup>m</sup> (cf. Bouyges, *Notice* CLXXIV): om. C E J V<sup>k</sup> ε M in lac., cett. recc., a Ar<sup>m</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 3 ἔστι pr.] ἐστὶ κινήτων I<sup>b</sup> b E (κινήτων in marg. alia manu addito) τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι om. Ar<sup>u</sup> δὴ β V<sup>k</sup> a Ar<sup>m</sup> Them: δὲ α Ar<sup>u</sup> 4 κινουμένων A<sup>b</sup> E J M V<sup>d</sup> V<sup>k</sup>, C ante corr., ζ Lat<sup>s</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup>: κινούμενον J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> A<sup>b</sup> alia manu corr., a Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: κινούμενα Ross τὰλλα] illa alia vel haec alia Ar<sup>m</sup> (cf. Walzer 229) καὶ A<sup>b</sup> O<sup>c</sup> J<sup>a</sup> (καὶ supra lin. addito) recentioresque quattuordecim qui ex A<sup>b</sup> et J<sup>a</sup> fluxerunt, Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup> a: om. α λ B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> f J<sup>c</sup> K<sup>c</sup> N<sup>s</sup> P S s T t Lat<sup>s</sup> 5 ὥστ' εἰ φορὰ Bonitz: ὥστε εἰ φορὰ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: ὥστ' εἰ ἢ φορὰ A<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> O<sup>c</sup> E γρ manu poster. in marg., nonnulli codd. recc., a Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid.: ὥστ' ἢ φορὰ E initio, J corr., V<sup>k</sup> C post corr., ε Lat<sup>s</sup> πρώτη A<sup>b</sup>, E γρ, J<sup>a</sup> post corr., f corr.: ἢ πρώτη α V<sup>k</sup> C mg. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup>: et prima Ar<sup>m</sup> (cf. Bouyges, *Notice* CLXXIV) ἢ alt. Ross ex Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: καὶ A<sup>b</sup> B<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J V<sup>d</sup> V<sup>k</sup> η ι C mg., E<sup>1</sup> et γρ manu rec., a Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>, del. Bonitz: εἰ καὶ I<sup>b</sup> T E manu poster. correctus (Ar<sup>m</sup> et actualitas prima praebebat, deest Ar<sup>u</sup>) 5-6 ὥστ' ... ἔχειν om. M C ante corr., Lat<sup>a</sup> 6 ταύτη] ταύτην A<sup>b</sup> J<sup>a</sup> supra lin., a γε C γρ, Bonitz (particulam δὲ vel omittendam vel in δὴ aut γε mutandam censuit): δὲ codd. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 7 τι] τὸ V<sup>d</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid. ἀκίνητον] κινήτων E<sup>1</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> ὄν om. T 8 ἐνέργεια C E f J<sup>c</sup> K<sup>c</sup> O<sup>c</sup> P V<sup>k</sup> T initio, ζ Michael Frede: ἐνεργεῖα cett. codd., Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ar<sup>m</sup> (deficit Ar<sup>u</sup>) 9 γάρ] et (fort. δὲ) Ar<sup>m</sup> 10 ἢ] ἢ ἢ C (ἢ scribae manu supra lin. add.) 11 γάρ] et Ar<sup>m</sup> 12 τὸ δὲ ... εὖ om. Ar<sup>m</sup> οὐ om. B<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>s</sup> P S s t Lat<sup>a</sup> τὸ εὖ non invenitur in Ar<sup>u</sup> 13 ἀλλ' deest in Them Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> atque ut vid. in Ar<sup>m</sup> 14 ἡρτηται καὶ M, fort. Lat<sup>b</sup> δ' om. J B<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> T η E<sup>1</sup> 15 ἐστὶν om. E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>k</sup> λ οἷα V<sup>k</sup> β: οἷα τε α α C mg.: οἷα γε O<sup>c</sup> ἢ om. θ γάρ non reperitur in Ar<sup>m</sup> (cf. 1609, 2 n. 36 ed. Bouyges) ἐκείνω Ar<sup>m</sup> ut vid. (cf. 1609, 2 ed. Bouyges): ἐκείνω A<sup>b</sup> B D D<sup>m</sup> Z Lat<sup>a</sup> ut vid.: ἐκείνω ἐστὶν M O<sup>c</sup> f alio corr. calamo, ut vid. Them (explanans, cf. p. 16, 14 ed. Badawi, Hebr. p. 19, 16 et Lat. p. 21, 35 ed. Landauer), fort. Ar<sup>u</sup> cum ab Averroee commemoratur (cf. 1612, n. 44 ed. Bouyges): ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶν cett. Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> et ut vid. Ar<sup>u</sup> scripta in codicis Leidensis margine (cf. 1609, n. 23 ed. Bouyges)

- ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον), ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡδονὴ ἢ ἐνέργεια  
 τούτου (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγρήγορσις αἰσθησις νόησις ἡδιστον,  
 ἐλπίδες δὲ καὶ μνήμαι διὰ ταῦτα). ἡ δὲ νόησις ἢ καθ'  
 αὐτὴν τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀρίστου, καὶ ἡ μάλιστα τοῦ μάλιστα.  
 5 αὐτὸν δὲ νοεῖ ὁ νοὺς κατὰ μετάληψιν τοῦ νοητοῦ· νοητὸς γὰρ 20  
 γίγνεται θιγγάνων καὶ νοῶν, ὥστε ταῦτόν νοὺς καὶ νοητόν.  
 τὸ γὰρ δεκτικὸν τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας νοὺς, ἐνεργεῖ δὲ  
 ἔχων, ὥστ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον τοῦτο ὃ δοκεῖ ὁ νοὺς θεῖον ἔχειν,  
 καὶ ἡ θεωρία τὸ ἡδιστον καὶ ἄριστον. εἰ οὖν οὕτως εὖ ἔχει,  
 10 ὥς ἡμεῖς ποτέ, ὁ θεὸς αἰεὶ, θαυμαστόν· εἰ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἔτι 25  
 θαυμασιώτερον. ἔχει δὲ ᾧδε. καὶ ζωὴ δὲ γε ὑπάρχει· ἡ  
 γὰρ νοῦ ἐνέργεια ζωὴ, ἐκείνος δὲ ἡ ἐνέργεια· ἐνέργεια δὲ ἡ  
 καθ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνου ζωὴ ἀρίστη καὶ αἰδῖος. φαμέν δὴ τὸν  
 θεὸν εἶναι ζῶν αἰδῖον ἄριστον, ὥστε ζωὴ καὶ αἰὼν συνεχῆς  
 15 καὶ αἰδῖος ὑπάρχει τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ θεός. ὅσοι δὲ 30  
 ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Σπεύσιππος,  
 τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ καὶ  
 τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων τὰς ἀρχὰς αἴτια μὲν εἶναι, τὸ  
 δὲ καλὸν καὶ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τούτων, οὐκ ὁρθῶς οἴονται.  
 20 τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα ἐξ ἐτέρων ἐστὶ προτέρων τελείων, καὶ τὸ 35  
 πρῶτον οὐ σπέρμα ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον· οἷον πρότερον 1073a1  
 ἀνθρωπον ἂν φαίη τις εἶναι τοῦ σπέρματος, οὐ τὸν ἐκ τούτου  
 γενόμενον ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἐξ οὗ τὸ σπέρμα. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔστιν  
 οὐσία τις αἰδῖος καὶ ἀκίνητος καὶ κεχωρισμένη τῶν αἰσθη-

1072b16 ἡμῖν ... ἀδύνατον om. Ar<sup>m</sup> ἡμῖν μὲν] ἡμὲν T E μῖν supra lin. add. ἡδονὴ ἢ E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>k</sup> ι λ E  
 γρ, a Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>, Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>, fort. Al: ἡ ἡδονὴ A<sup>b</sup> E J V<sup>d</sup> η et ut vid. Them atque Ar<sup>u</sup>: ἡ ἡδονὴ ἢ I<sup>b</sup> b 18  
 κνήμαι E 20 δὲ] δὴ Bonitz 21 γίγνεται] γίνεται A<sup>b</sup> C et recc. plerique, a θιγγάνων]  
 ordinans Lat<sup>a</sup> καὶ alt. om. A<sup>b</sup> 22 δεκτικοῦ M 23 ἐκείνου Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Them ut  
 vid., Ross: ἐκείνο codd. a Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid., O'Rahilly τοῦτο Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Them ut vid.:  
 τούτον c: τούτου cett. a Ps-Al<sup>i</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid.: ὥστε τούτου O'Rahilly 24 ἀόριστον E εὖ  
 om. V<sup>d</sup> J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>a</sup> initio, I<sup>b</sup> ante corr., Them Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> (sed cf. EE VII 12, 1245b17) 26 δὲ] δὴ Q<sup>c</sup> U<sup>c</sup>  
 ᾧδε] ᾧδὲ A<sup>b</sup> 27 ἐκείνος A<sup>b</sup> ac f et J<sup>a</sup> correcti compluresque recc., a, Them ut vid., Lat<sup>b</sup>:  
 ἐκείνο V<sup>k</sup> α λ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> 28 δὴ Them Ar<sup>u</sup> atque Hebraica translatio quae  
 ex Alexandri dicitur orta esse exemplari (cf. 1614, 8, n. 36 et 1615, v 11, n. 26 ed. Bouyges) Lat<sup>b</sup>,  
 ci. Bonitz: δὲ codd. a 29 ὥστε] ὥστε καὶ η 30 καὶ A<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> B<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> supra lin., Lat<sup>b</sup>: om. E  
 E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>p</sup> V<sup>k</sup> η λ Ar<sup>u</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> αἰδῖος om. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> τῷ θεῷ om. Ar<sup>u</sup>  
 35 ἐστὶ προτέρων] ἐστὶ πρότερον η a: ἐστὶ πρώτων V<sup>d</sup>: προτέρων ἐστὶ A<sup>b</sup> 1073a1 τὸ] τι Ar<sup>u</sup>  
 ut vid. (cf. Bouyges, Notice CLXXIV): om. H<sup>a</sup> M s t οἷον E J<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup> correctus, θ λ Lat<sup>a</sup>: οἷόν τε V<sup>d</sup>  
 initio, A<sup>b</sup> τε manu recentioris librarii scripto, J wc supra verbum οἷόν manu rec. addito: ὥστε J<sup>c</sup>  
 C γρ: οἷον ὡς οἷόν τε η: οἷον ὥστε T: ὄν ὡς οἰόνται E<sup>s</sup> 2 ἂν φαίη] φαίη ἂν λ 4 καὶ ἀκίνητος  
 om. T Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> καὶ alt. om. Them Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup>

- 5 τῶν, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων· δέδεικται δὲ καὶ ὅτι μέ-  
γεθος οὐδὲν ἔχειν ἐνδέχεται ταύτην τὴν οὐσίαν ἀλλ' ἀμερῆς  
καὶ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστιν (κινεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον, οὐδὲν δ'  
ἔχει δύναμιν ἄπειρον πεπερασμένον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶν μέγεθος  
ἢ ἄπειρον ἢ πεπερασμένον, πεπερασμένον μὲν διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ 5  
10 ἂν ἔχοι μέγεθος, ἄπειρον δ' ὅτι ὅλως οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄπειρον  
μέγεθος)· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅτι ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον·  
πάσαι γὰρ αἱ ἄλλαι κινήσεις ὕστεραι τῆς κατὰ τόπον.  
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δῆλα διότι τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

## CAPUT OCTAVUM

- 1073a14 Πότερον δὲ μίαν θετέον τὴν τοιαύτην οὐσίαν ἢ πλείους, 10  
15 καὶ πόσας, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ μεμνησθαι καὶ τὰς  
τῶν ἄλλων ἀποφάσεις, ὅτι περὶ πλήθους οὐδὲν εἰρήκασιν  
ὅ τι καὶ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰς ιδέας ὑπό-  
ληψις οὐδεμίαν ἔχει σκέψιν ἰδίαν (ἀριθμοὺς γὰρ λέγουσι τὰς  
ιδέας οἱ λέγοντες ιδέας, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ὅτε μὲν ὡς 15  
20 περὶ ἀπείρων λέγουσιν ὅτε δὲ ὡς μέχρι τῆς δεκάδος ὠρι-  
σμένων· δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν τοσοῦτον τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀριθμῶν,  
οὐδὲν λέγεται μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς)· ἡμῖν δ' ἐκ τῶν  
ὑποκειμένων καὶ διωρισμένων λεκτέον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ  
τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὄντων ἀκίνητον καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ κατὰ 20  
25 συμβεβηκός, κινοῦν δὲ τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν καὶ μίαν κίνησιν·  
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον ἀνάγκη ὑπὸ τινος κινεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ  
πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον εἶναι καθ' αὐτό, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν κί-  
νησιν ὑπὸ αἰδίου κινεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν μίαν ὑφ' ἐνός, ὁρῶμεν  
δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ παντός τὴν ἀπλήν φοράν, ἣν κινεῖν φα- 25  
30 μὲν τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἄλλας φορὰς οὔσας  
τὰς τῶν πλανήτων αἰδίου (αἰδίου γὰρ καὶ ἄστατον τὸ κύκλω

1073a9 μὲν διὰ τοῦτο non leg. in Lat<sup>a</sup> 10 ἄπειρον δ'] *infinitam vero non* nonnulli codd.  
Transl. Anon. (Lat<sup>a</sup>) ac recensiois Guillelmi (Lat<sup>g</sup>) ἄπειρον alt. om. M B C ante corr.  
11 ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος T 15 πόσας, δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν Ps-Al vid. legisse (cf. 700.16)  
17 καὶ om. K<sup>c</sup> et primo L<sup>c</sup>, punctis est del. in H<sup>a</sup> 19 οἱ λέγοντες ιδέας om. ι 23 διω-  
ρισμένων] δεδειγμένων Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> (ἀποδεδειγμένων Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>) 25 πρώτην] πρώτην καὶ V<sup>k</sup> O<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup>  
initio, λ a Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (at non Simp 270.20) 29 τὴν alt. om. V<sup>c</sup> 30 οὔσας] *quascumque* Lat<sup>a</sup>  
31 τὰς om. T κ

- σώμα· δέδεικται δ' ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς περὶ τούτων), ἀνάγκη  
καὶ τούτων ἐκάστην τῶν φορῶν ὑπ' ἀκινήτου τε κινεῖσθαι καθ'  
αὐτὴν καὶ αἰδίου οὐσίας. ἢ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄστρον φύσις αἰδίου  
οὐσία τις οὐσα, καὶ τὸ κινεῖν αἰδίου καὶ πρότερον τοῦ κινου- 35  
5 μένου, καὶ τὸ πρότερον οὐσίας οὐσίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. φανε-  
ρὸν τοίνυν ὅτι τοσαύτας τε οὐσίας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν τε  
φύσιν αἰδίου καὶ ἀκινήτους καθ' αὐτάς, καὶ ἄνευ μεγέθους  
διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν πρότερον. — ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν οὐσαί, 1073b1  
καὶ τούτων τις πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν  
10 ταῖς φοραῖς τῶν ἄστρον, φανερόν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἤδη τῶν  
φορῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκειοτάτης φιλοσοφίας τῶν μαθηματικῶν  
ἐπιστημῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας· αὕτη γὰρ περὶ 5  
οὐσίας αἰσθητῆς μὲν αἰδίου δὲ ποιεῖται τὴν θεωρίαν, αἱ δ'  
ἄλλαι περὶ οὐδεμιᾶς οὐσίας, οἷον ἢ τε περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς καὶ  
15 τὴν γεωμετρίαν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν πλείους τῶν φερομένων αἱ φο-  
ραί, φανερόν τοῖς καὶ μετρίως ἡμμένοις (πλείους γὰρ ἕκα-  
στον φέρεται μιάς τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρον)· πόσαι δ' αὐταὶ 10  
τυγχάνουσιν οὐσαι, νῦν μὲν ἡμεῖς ἃ λέγουσι τῶν μαθηματι-  
κῶν τινὲς ἐννοίας χάριν λέγομεν, ὅπως ἢ τι τῇ διανοίᾳ  
20 πλῆθος ὠρισμένον ὑπολαβεῖν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὰ μὲν ζητοῦν-  
τας αὐτοὺς δεῖ τὰ δὲ πυνθανομένους παρὰ τῶν ζητούντων,  
ἂν τι φαίνεται παρὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα τοῖς ταῦτα πραγμα- 15  
τευομένοις, φιλεῖν μὲν ἀμφοτέρους, πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀκρι-  
βεστέροις. — Εὐδοξος μὲν οὖν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἑκατέρου τὴν  
25 φορὰν ἐν τρισὶν ἐτίθετ' εἶναι σφαίραις, ὧν τὴν μὲν πρώτην

1073a32 δέδεικται ... τούτων om. Simp 270.25 32–33 ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτων om. J<sup>1</sup> 32–34  
ἀνάγκη ... αἰδίου om. M 33–34 καθ' αὐτὴν Christ, Lat<sup>b</sup> ut vid., fort. Them: καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν  
C E E<sup>b2</sup> J<sup>c</sup> V<sup>k</sup> Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ B<sup>b</sup> S s t: καὶ καθ' αὐτοῦ C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>s</sup>: καθ' αὐτὸ cett. a C E Simp  
270.26, Ps-Al γρ. Ar<sup>u</sup>: secundum se Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> 34 αἰδίου] αἰδίου J C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>s</sup> S 34–35 αἰδίου  
οὐσία τις οὐσα] οὐσία τις αἰδίου οὐσα η: αἰδίου τις οὐσα οὐσία B<sup>b</sup>: οὐσία non invenitur in Ar<sup>u</sup>  
atque Lat<sup>a</sup> 36 τὸ om. a u 37 τε pr. om. V<sup>a</sup> C, in dubium vocavit Bonitz ἀναγκαῖον]  
ἀνάγκη in margine codicis H<sup>a</sup> legitur: om. S 38–1073b1 καὶ ἄνευ ... πρότερον om. M C ante  
corr. 2 τις E<sup>s</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Ps-Al<sup>b</sup> Them ut vid., Christ: τίς E E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> β: om. u a E  
4 φορῶν] σφαιρῶν Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> οἰκειοτάτης] οἰκειότητος E<sup>s</sup> d N<sup>d</sup> (-κίότητος) et v.l. in cod. J adscripta  
φιλοσοφία λ Them Ps-Al<sup>b</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>b</sup> Bonitz: φιλοσοφίας A<sup>b</sup> α a Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 6 δὲ primo  
om. E 8 φερομένων] πλανωμένων Ar<sup>u</sup> 11 ἡμεῖς] οὖν ἡμεῖς Simp 505.31: καὶ ἡμεῖς V<sup>a</sup> C  
Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> 13 ὑπολαβεῖν] ὑπολαμβάνειν Simp 505.32: λαβεῖν V<sup>k</sup> λ τὰ] τὸ C V<sup>k</sup> 14 παρὰ  
om. Simp 506.1 ζητούντων bis E 15 ἂν] ἐάν Simp 506.1 16 δὲ om. J initio, V<sup>d</sup> ante  
corr. 17 οὖν om. E<sup>b</sup> s ἑκατέρου om. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>

τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἄστρον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν κατὰ τὸν  
 20 διὰ μέσων τῶν ζωδίων, τὴν δὲ τρίτην κατὰ τὸν λελοξω-  
 μένον ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῶν ζωδίων (ἐν μερίζονι δὲ πλάτει λε-  
 λοξῶσθαι καθ' ὃν ἡ σελήνη φέρεται ἢ καθ' ὃν ὁ ἥλιος), τῶν  
 δὲ πλανωμένων ἄστρον ἐν τέτταρσιν ἐκάστου σφαίραις, καὶ 5  
 τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι  
 25 ἐκείναις (τὴν τε γὰρ τῶν ἀπλανῶν τὴν ἀπάσας φέρουσιν  
 εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τεταγμένην καὶ κατὰ τὸν διὰ  
 μέσων τῶν ζωδίων τὴν φορὰν ἔχουσιν κοινὴν ἀπασῶν εἶναι),  
 τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἀπάντων τοὺς πόλους ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσων τῶν 10  
 ζωδίων εἶναι, τῆς δὲ τετάρτης τὴν φορὰν κατὰ τὸν λελο-  
 30 ξωμένον πρὸς τὸν μέσον ταύτης· εἶναι δὲ τῆς τρίτης σφαί-  
 ρας τοὺς πόλους τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἰδίους, τοὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδί-  
 τῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τοὺς αὐτοὺς· Κάλλιππος δὲ τὴν μὲν θέσιν  
 τῶν σφαιρῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐτίθετο Εὐδόξῳ [τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν ἀπο- 15  
 στημάτων τὴν τάξιν], τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῷ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς καὶ  
 35 τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκείνῳ ἀπεδίδου, τῷ δ' ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ  
 σελήνῃ δύο ὥετο ἔτι προσθετέας εἶναι σφαίρας, τὰ φαι-  
 νόμενα εἰ μέλλει τις ἀποδώσειν, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τῶν πλαν-  
 ηήτων ἐκάστω μίαν. ἀναγκαῖον δέ, εἰ μέλλουσι συντεθεῖσαι 20  
 1074a1 πᾶσαι τὰ φαινόμενα ἀποδώσειν, καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πλανω-  
 μένων ἑτέρας σφαίρας μιᾷ ἐλάττονας εἶναι τὰς ἀνελιττού-  
 σας καὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποκαθιστάσας τῇ θέσει τὴν πρώτην  
 σφαῖραν αἰεὶ τοῦ ὑποκάτω τεταγμένου ἄστρου· οὕτω γὰρ μό-  
 5 νως ἐνδέχεται τὴν τῶν πλανήτων φορὰν ἅπαντα ποιεῖσθαι. 25

1073b19 ἄστρον] ἀστέρων E<sup>b</sup> τὸν] τὸ nonnulli recc., a: τῶν E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>d</sup> ac primo f et s: τὴν T  
 20 μέσων] μέσον E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> d τὸν] τὸ aliquot recc., a: τῶν E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>d</sup> 20–21 λελοξωμένον]  
 -ξευμένον C: -ξωμένων E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>d</sup> a 21 δὲ om. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 23 τέτταρσιν] τέτρασιν V<sup>d</sup> λ a Ps-  
 Phil<sup>p</sup> ἐκάστου] ἕκαστος E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> x 24 δευτέραν] τὴν δευτέραν η 25 τὴν om. λ 26  
 ταύτῃ] ταύτην H<sup>a</sup> D<sup>m</sup> J<sup>a</sup> γρ, a 26–27 καὶ κατὰ ... εἶναι] *zodiaci naturalem habentem motum*  
*omnium esse* Lat<sup>a</sup> 27 μέσων] μέσον H<sup>a</sup> 29 εἶναι om. λ 29–30 τὸν λελοξωμένον]  
 τῶν λελοξωμένων V<sup>d</sup> J<sup>a</sup> et recc. plerique, Lat<sup>a</sup> 30 τὸν] τὸ I<sup>b</sup> V<sup>a</sup> H<sup>a</sup> ante corr., E 31 τοὺς  
 alt.] τοῦ E E<sup>b</sup>2 B<sup>b</sup> γ λ 33–34 τοῦτ' ... τάξιν om. E I<sup>b</sup> b Ar<sup>u</sup>, secludendum censuit Christ: τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἐτίθετο τάξιν, τουτέστι τῶν ἀποστημάτων Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 35 ἐκείνῳ] ἐκείνο A<sup>b</sup>: -η J<sup>b</sup> ἡλίῳ]  
 -ου u V<sup>a</sup> V<sup>c</sup>, γρ J<sup>a</sup>, γρ Y<sup>c</sup>, a 35–36 τῇ σελήνῃ] τῆς σελήνης M<sup>c</sup> V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> J<sup>a</sup> ut vid.: τῷ σελήνης Q<sup>c</sup>  
 u V<sup>a</sup> a 36 ἔτι προσθετέας] προσθετέας Simp 496.12, Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> et ut vid. Ar<sup>u</sup> ac Them: om. J<sup>1</sup>  
 37 μέλλει] μέλλοι V<sup>c</sup> E calamo corr. alio, Simp 497.13 38 μίαν] ἀνὰ μίαν Simp 497.13, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>  
 Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> δέ] δὴ Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. συντεθεῖσαι] -θεῖσθαι E<sup>b</sup>2 λ: -θεῖναι J<sup>a</sup> a 1074a1 πᾶσαι primum  
 om. J 3 τὸ αὐτὸ] ταύτὸν Simp 497.28 ἀποκαθιστάσας E T λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: ἀποκαθιστώσας A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup>  
 I<sup>b</sup> J V<sup>d</sup> η x a Simp 497.28 τῇ θέσει om. P<sup>b</sup> et primo ι 5 ἅπαντα] ἀπάντων Ar<sup>u</sup>



ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν αἷς μὲν αὐτὰ φέρεται σφαίραις αἱ μὲν ὀκτὼ  
αἱ δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰσιν, τούτων δὲ μόνας οὐ δεῖ ἀνε-  
λιχθῆναι ἐν αἷς τὸ κατωτάτω τεταγμένον φέρεται, αἱ μὲν  
τὰς τῶν πρώτων δύο ἀνελίττουσαι ἕξ ἔσονται, αἱ δὲ τὰς  
5 τῶν ὑστερον τεττάρων ἐκκαίδεκα· ὁ δὲ ἀπασῶν ἀριθμὸς τῶν 10  
τε φερουσῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνελιττουσῶν ταύτας πεντήκοντά τε  
καὶ πέντε. εἰ δὲ τῇ σελήνῃ τε καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ μὴ προσθεῖη  
τις ἃς εἵπομεν κινήσεις, αἱ πᾶσαι σφαῖραι ἔσονται ἑννέα  
τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. — τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν σφαιρῶν ἔστω  
10 τοσοῦτον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἀκινήτους 15  
καὶ οὐκ αἰσθητάς τοσαύτας εὐλογον ὑπολαβεῖν (τὸ γὰρ  
ἀναγκαῖον ἀφείσθω τοῖς ἰσχυροτέροις λέγειν)· εἰ δὲ μηδε-  
μίαν οἶόν τ' εἶναι φορὰν μὴ συντείνουσιν πρὸς ἄστρου φορὰν,  
ἔτι δὲ πᾶσαν φύσιν καὶ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἀπαθῇ καὶ καθ'  
15 αὐτὴν τοῦ ἀρίστου τετυχηκυῖαν τέλος εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν, οὐδε-  
μίαν ἂν εἴη παρὰ ταύτας ἑτέρα φύσις, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἀνάγκη  
τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τῶν οὐσιῶν. εἴτε γὰρ εἰσιν ἕτεραι, κινοῖεν  
ἂν ὥς τέλος οὔσαι φορᾶς· ἀλλὰ εἶναι γε ἄλλας φορᾶς  
ἀδύνατον παρὰ τὰς εἰρημένους. τοῦτο δὲ εὐλογον ἐκ τῶν

1074a6 ἐπεὶ οὖν] ὥστε Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> ὀκτὼ] ἕξ Ar<sup>u</sup> initio ac iterum correcta (primum corr. ὀκτὼ expressit) 8 κατωτάτω τεταγμένον] κάτω τεταγμένον Simp 503.8–9, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: κάτω Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> (at κατωτάτω τεταγμένον praebet Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup>) 10 ὑστερον a u V<sup>a</sup>: ὑστέρων ω atque ut vid. Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> Them Ar<sup>u</sup> δὴ Ab<sup>l</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> η λ Them Ar<sup>u</sup>: δὲ J<sup>a</sup> Ab<sup>l</sup> alio calamo in litura, a 11 τε alt. om. B V<sup>c</sup> et non legitur in Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 12 δὲ] δὴ S τῇ σελήνῃ] τῆς σελήνης V<sup>d</sup> (τῆς initio etiam in Ab<sup>l</sup> legebatur), a τε E J V<sup>d</sup> β: om. S u V<sup>a</sup> ε a et non invenitur in interpr. Simplicii (503.11) προσθεῖη V<sup>d</sup> c D d J<sup>a</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>c</sup> U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>c</sup> Y<sup>c</sup> u post corr., Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Simp 503.11: προστιθεῖη Ab<sup>l</sup> E J ε: προστιθῇ λ: προστεθεῖη S T 13 σφαῖραι E I<sup>b</sup> J O<sup>c</sup> J<sup>a</sup> post corr. β η Them (24, 24 ed. Landauer) Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>: σφαῖραί τε E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> (-ρεται): φοραὶ V<sup>d</sup> et Averrois textus quaedam transl. Hebr. (cf. 1670, n. 60 ed. Bouyges) ἔσονται om. I<sup>b</sup> 13–14 ἑννέα pro ἐπτά praebet Ar<sup>u</sup> manu scribae correctae; hoc legere maluit et Alexandri Aphrodisiensis magister Sosigenes, cuius sententiae assensus est Barnes: ἐπτά τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Ab<sup>l</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> η: ἐπτά καὶ τεσσαράκοντα H<sup>a</sup> V<sup>k</sup> Simp (503, ll. 12, 19, 20–21, 25): ἐπτά καὶ τετταράκοντα C Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: τεσσαράκοντα ἐπτά M 14 σφαιρῶν] φορῶν Ar<sup>u</sup> Simp 506.4, Them Krische 15 ἀρχὰς] ἀρχὰς καὶ D f 16 καὶ οὐκ αἰσθητάς M Lat<sup>g</sup> (textus Parisiacus): καὶ τὰς αἰσθητάς Ab<sup>l</sup> C V<sup>k</sup> α Them Simp 506.5–6, Ar<sup>u</sup> correctae, Lat<sup>g</sup> (textus Italicus): καὶ τὰς αἰσθητάς τὰς ἄλλας initio Ar<sup>u</sup>: om. Ps-Al<sup>cp</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup>, del. Goebel 17–18 μηδεμίαν E J ε β:μίαν V<sup>d</sup> 18 οἶόν τ' εἶναι] οἶονται εἶναι V<sup>d</sup> post corr., a: οἶονται Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. μὴ non reperitur in Lat<sup>a</sup> atque ut vid. in Ar<sup>u2</sup> (cf. 1677, 10 n. 12 ed. Bouyges) 19 ἀπαθῇ] ἀγαθὴν ἀπαθῇ T: ἀγαθὴν fort. Them (cf. 24, 32 ed. Landauer): in codice J legitur ἀπαθῇ, sed supra π litteram reperitur γ, ut vid. v.l. ἀγαθὴν scribae manu supra lineam addita 20 ἀρίστου] ἀορίστου C, o littera supra lin. eadem manu adscripta τέλος E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> correctus, E γρ, Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (ut in codd. Paris. 1876 et Vat. Regin. 109 legitur): τέλους E E<sup>b</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J P<sup>b</sup> T V<sup>d</sup> β η Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (codice Monac. 81 posteris tradita): abest ab Ar<sup>u</sup> 22 εἴτε] εἰ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> (E in litura εἴτε praebet) ἕτεραι] ἕτεραι κινητικαὶ C 23 τέλος] fines Lat<sup>a</sup>

- 25 φερομένων ὑπολαβεῖν. εἰ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ φέρον τοῦ φερομένου  
 χάριν πέφυκε καὶ φορὰ πᾶσα φερομένου τινός ἐστιν, οὐδεμία  
 φορὰ αὐτῆς ἂν ἔνεκα εἴη οὐδ' ἄλλης φορᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 ἄστρον ἔνεκα. εἰ γὰρ ἔσται φορὰ φορᾶς ἔνεκα, καὶ ἐκείνην  
 ἐτέρας δεήσει χάριν εἶναι· ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἶόν τε εἰς ἅπει- 5  
 30 ρον, τέλος ἔσται πάσης φορᾶς τῶν φερομένων τι θείων σω-  
 μάτων κατὰ τὸν οὐρανόν. ὅτι δὲ εἰς οὐρανός, φανερόν. εἰ  
 γὰρ πλείους οὐρανοὶ ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι, ἔσται εἶδει μία ἢ περὶ  
 ἕκαστον ἀρχή, ἀριθμῷ δέ γε πολλάι. ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀριθμῷ  
 πολλά, ὕλην ἔχει (εἰς γὰρ λόγος καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς πολλῶν, 10  
 35 οἶον ἀνθρώπου, Σωκράτης δὲ εἰς)· τὸ δὲ τί ἦν εἶναι οὐκ ἔχει  
 ὕλην τὸ πρῶτον· ἐντελέχεια γάρ. ἐν ἅρα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ  
 ἀριθμῷ τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον ὄν· καὶ τὸ κινούμενον ἅρα  
 αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν μόνον· εἰς ἅρα οὐρανός μόνος. παρα-  
 1074b1 δέδοται δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παμπαλαίων ἐν μύθου 15  
 σχήματι καταλειμμένα τοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι θεοὶ τέ εἰσιν  
 οὗτοι καὶ περιέχει τὸ θεῖον τὴν ὅλην φύσιν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
 μυθικῶς ἤδη προσήκται πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ  
 5 πρὸς τὴν εἰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χρήσιν· ἀνθρω-  
 ποιδεῖς τε γὰρ τούτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁμοίους τισὶ 20  
 λέγουσι, καὶ τούτοις ἕτερα ἀκόλουθα καὶ παραπλήσια τοῖς  
 εἰρημένοις, ὧν εἴ τις χωρίσας αὐτὸ λάβοι μόνον τὸ πρῶ-  
 τον, ὅτι θεοὺς ᾤοντο τὰς πρώτας οὐσίας εἶναι, θείως ἂν εἰρή-  
 10 σθαι νομίσειεν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς πολλάκις εὐρημένης εἰς  
 τὸ δυνατόν ἐκάστης καὶ τέχνης καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πάλιν 25  
 φθειρομένων καὶ ταύτας τὰς δόξας ἐκείνων οἶον λείψανα  
 περισεῶσθαι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πάτριος δόξα καὶ  
 14 ἡ παρὰ τῶν πρώτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν φανερὰ μόνον.

1074a25 φερομένων] εἰρημένων E γρ τὸ φέρον] *motus* Ar<sup>u</sup> 27 αὐτῆς ἂν ἔνεκα] αὐτῆς ἔνεκα E: ἔνεκα αὐτῆς λ οὐδ'] εἰ δ' C H<sup>a1</sup> 29 ἐτέρας M Them Ps-ALP: ἐτέρου C α: ἐτέρων A<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> δεήσει χάριν εἶναι] χάριν εἶναι δεήσει I<sup>b</sup> x 30 τι om. x Lat<sup>a</sup> 31 κατὰ τὸν] κατ' M οὐρανός] ὁ οὐρανός E (δ add. manus posterior), fort. Ps-ALP 32 εἶδει] εἰ δὲ Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. 33 ἀλλ' ὅσα] ἄλλος Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. 34 πολλά om. H<sup>a</sup> 35 εἰς] οὐχ εἰς E γρ 36 ἐν] ἐν μὲν ζ 38 συνεχῶς ἐν μόνον V<sup>k</sup> α λ Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup>: συνεχῶς A<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> μόνος deest in quibusdam Averr. codd. Hebraicis (cf. 1684, 2 n. 25 atque 1686, 12 n. 71 ed. Bouyges) 1074b1 παρὰ J β ε E (manu recentiore in litura per compendium scr.): ὑπὸ V<sup>d</sup> 2 καταλειμμένα] παραλειμμένα M E<sup>b2</sup> 4 ἤδη om. Ps-AL<sup>c</sup> προσήκται] προήκται E<sup>b2</sup> Ps-AL<sup>c</sup> et -ίεται λ V<sup>k</sup>: προσήπται Bywater 7 καὶ τούτοις om. Lat<sup>a</sup> 9 θείως] ὁσίως maluit Bergk 10 καὶ om. V<sup>k</sup> λ Lat<sup>a</sup> εὐρημένης] εἰρημένης Ar<sup>u</sup> 12 φθειρομένων] φθειρομένης C γρ

## CAPUT NONUM

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχει τινὰς ἀπορίας· δοκεῖ μὲν 1074b15  
 γὰρ εἶναι τῶν φαινομένων θειότατον, πῶς δ' ἔχων τοιοῦτος  
 ἂν εἶη, ἔχει τινὰς δυσκολίας. εἴτε γὰρ μηδὲν νοεῖ, τί ἂν  
 εἶη τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλ' ἔχει ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ὁ καθεύδων· εἴτε  
 5 νοεῖ, τούτου δ' ἄλλο κύριον, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἡ  
 οὐσία νόησις, ἀλλὰ δύναμις, οὐκ ἂν ἡ ἀρίστη οὐσία εἴη· διὰ 20  
 γὰρ τοῦ νοεῖν τὸ τίμιον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει. ἔτι δὲ εἴτε νοῦς ἡ  
 οὐσία αὐτοῦ εἴτε νόησις ἐστὶ, τί νοεῖ; ἢ γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἢ  
 ἕτερόν τι· καὶ εἰ ἕτερόν τι, ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀεὶ ἢ ἄλλο. πότε-  
 10 ρον οὖν διαφέρει τι ἢ οὐδὲν τὸ νοεῖν τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ τυχόν;  
 ἢ καὶ ἄτοπον τὸ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ ἐνίων; δῆλον τοίνυν ὅτι 25  
 τὸ θειότατον καὶ τιμιώτατον νοεῖ, καὶ οὐ μεταβάλλει· εἰς  
 χεῖρον γὰρ ἢ μεταβολή, καὶ κίνησις τις ἤδη τὸ τοιοῦτον.  
 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰ μὴ νόησις ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δύναμις, εὐλογον  
 15 ἐπίπνονον εἶναι τὸ συνεχὲς αὐτῷ τῆς νοήσεως· ἔπειτα δῆλον  
 ὅτι ἄλλο τι ἂν εἶη τὸ τιμιώτερον ἢ ὁ νοῦς, τὸ νοούμενον. 30  
 καὶ γὰρ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ ἡ νόησις ὑπάρξει καὶ τὸ χεῖριστον  
 νοοῦντι, ὥστ' εἰ φευκτὸν τοῦτο (καὶ γὰρ μὴ ὁρᾶν ἔνια κρεῖτ-  
 τον ἢ ὁρᾶν), οὐκ ἂν εἶη τὸ ἀριστον ἢ νόησις. αὐτὸν ἄρα  
 20 νοεῖ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νόησις νοήσεως νόη-  
 σις. φαίνεται δ' ἀεὶ ἄλλου ἢ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις καὶ 35  
 ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ διάνοια, αὐτῆς δ' ἐν παρέργῳ. ἔτι εἰ ἄλλο

1074b16 γὰρ om. E<sup>b1</sup> E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>k</sup> η x 17 μηδὲν νοεῖ] μηδ' ἐννοεῖ A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J L<sup>c</sup> E<sup>b2</sup>; μηδ' ἐννοεῖ τι x E<sup>b1</sup>:  
 μηδὲν ἐννοεῖ τι I<sup>b</sup> initio: μηδὲν νοεῖ τι I<sup>b</sup> post corr. 19 δ' ] δῆ Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. (cf. Bouyges, *Notice*  
 CLXXV) ἐστὶ] ἔσται Lat<sup>b</sup> typis descripta (sed cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z est praebet), quae lectio  
 Alberto Schwegler probabilis esse videbatur ὃ ἐστὶν om. V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> et fort. Ar<sup>u</sup> 20  
 οὐσία pr. om. quidam codd. recensionis Guillelmi (Lat<sup>g</sup>) 22 αὐτόν] αὐτόν A<sup>b</sup> J E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> V<sup>d</sup> ut  
 vid., η 23 ἢ alt.] et non Ar<sup>u</sup>: om. J<sup>b</sup> initio ἄλλο] ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλο explanans Ps-Al 24  
 οὖν] οὐ Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. 25 ἐνίων] ἐνίων τῶν κακῶν H<sup>a</sup>: in E supra lin. alia manu scripta sunt  
 verba οἶον τῶν κακῶν: non invenitur in Ar<sup>u</sup> 28 νόησις] νόησις τίς E<sup>b2</sup> V<sup>k</sup> λ 30 ἄλλο  
 τι] ἄλλο L<sup>c</sup> M V<sup>d</sup>: ἄλλον J<sup>b</sup> 31 τὸ νοεῖν] τῷ νοεῖν Araba quaedam transl. ut vid. (1698, 9 ed.  
 Bouyges; cf. Genequand 193 n. 175): νοεῖν Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> ἢ om. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> τὸ χεῖριστον A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup>  
 I<sup>b</sup> correctus i Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: τῷ χεῖριστον L<sup>c</sup> λ I<sup>b</sup> primo ut vid., fort. Ar<sup>u</sup> (cf. Bouyges, *Notice* CLXXV):  
 τὰ χεῖριστα I<sup>b</sup> γρ, fort. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> 32 εἰ] εἰ ἔστι E (ἔστι add. manus posterior): om. E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>s</sup> J L<sup>c</sup> T  
 x E<sup>b</sup> ante corr., Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> (typis expressa) atque Averrois codd. Paris. Hebraici 886 (Or. 112) et  
 887 (Or. 114) ab editore Maurice Bouyges inspecti 33 τὸ ἀριστον] τὸ θειότατον καὶ ἀριστον  
 Ps-Al<sup>cp</sup> αὐτόν] αὐτόν A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J<sup>b</sup> 34–35 ἡ νόησις κάτω νοήσεως νοήσεις inepte T 35  
 ἢ alt. om. E V<sup>k</sup> λ 36 αὐτῆς J L<sup>c</sup> I<sup>b</sup>: αὐτῆς E<sup>b2</sup> V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Al<sup>lp</sup>: sui ipsius Ar<sup>u</sup>: αὐτῆς A<sup>b</sup> B<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> J<sup>b</sup>  
 H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> T V<sup>d</sup> ἔτι] ἔτι δ' T

τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι, κατὰ πότερον αὐτῷ τὸ εἶ ὑπάρ-  
 χει; οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτὸ τὸ εἶναι νοήσει καὶ νοουμένῳ. ἢ ἐπ’  
 1075a1 ἐνίων ἡ ἐπιστήμη τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ποιητικῶν, ἄνευ  
 ὕλης ἢ οὐσία καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν ὁ  
 λόγος τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἡ νόησις; οὐχ ἑτέρου οὖν ὄντος τοῦ νοου- 5  
 μένου καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ὅσα μὴ ὕλην ἔχει, τὸ αὐτὸ ἔσται, καὶ ἡ  
 5 νόησις τῷ νοουμένῳ μία. ἔτι δὴ λείπεται ἀπορία, εἰ σύνθετον  
 τὸ νοούμενον· μεταβάλλοι γὰρ ἂν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ ὅλου. ἢ  
 ἀδιαίρετον πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἔχον ὕλην· ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς  
 ἢ ὁ γε τῶν συνθέτων ἔχει ἐν τινι χρόνῳ (οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τὸ εἶ 10  
 ἐν τῷδὶ ἢ ἐν τῷδὶ, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὅλῳ τινὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ὃν ἄλλο τι),  
 10 οὕτως δ’ ἔχει αὐτὴ αὐτῆς ἡ νόησις τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα;

## CAPUT DECIMUM

1075a11 Ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ ποτέρως ἔχει ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις τὸ  
 ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ ἄριστον, πότερον κεχωρισμένον τι καὶ αὐτὸ  
 καθ’ αὐτό, ἢ τὴν τάξιν. ἢ ἀμφοτέρως ὥσπερ στρατεύμα; 15  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τάξει τὸ εἶ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ μᾶλλον  
 15 οὗτος· οὐ γὰρ οὗτος διὰ τὴν τάξιν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνη διὰ τοῦτόν ἐστιν.  
 πάντα δὲ συντέτακται πῶς, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμοίως, καὶ πλωτὰ

1074b38 οὐδὲ] οὐ V<sup>k</sup> η Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 1075a1 In codd. E H<sup>a</sup> J J<sup>b</sup> M V<sup>d</sup> E<sup>b</sup> et P<sup>b</sup> verba ποιητικῶν atque  
 ἄνευ interductibus separata sunt a librariis; cf. *Metaph.* Z 7, 1032b14. 2 ἡ οὐσία] ἡ γὰρ  
 οὐσία J η Lat<sup>g</sup> 3 οὖν om. B<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> correctus 3-5 τοῦ νοουμένου ... νόησις om. J<sup>1</sup> 4 τὸ  
 αὐτὸ] ταῦτόν V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> καὶ alt.] *quia et* Ar<sup>u</sup> 4-5 καὶ τοῦ νοῦ ... μία om. E<sup>1</sup>, sed in mg.  
 suppl. antiquus corrector (cf. ad 1075a5 notata) 5 τῷ νοουμένῳ V<sup>k</sup> E manu posteriore in  
 mg. addito, J<sup>b</sup> γρ, I<sup>b</sup> post corr., λ Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Bonitz: τοῦ νοουμένου A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> T V<sup>d</sup> j alio atramento  
 in mg. adposito, C γρ, η ι Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> 6 μεταβάλλοι] μεταβάλλοι V<sup>d</sup> A<sup>b</sup> correctus, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>  
 (sed μεταβάλλοι Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>): μεταβάλλει E<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> T ἂν om. T 7 ὥσπερ οὖν V<sup>k</sup> λ E (οὖν per  
 compendium scriptum add. manus posterior), Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>, fort. Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> (714.15, cf. οὖν loco γὰρ  
 714.26): ὥσπερ A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>1</sup> γ Ar<sup>u</sup> ὁ om. κ I<sup>b</sup> ante corr. ut vid. 8 ἢ] *et* Ar<sup>u</sup>: deleverunt Ravaisson  
 ac Bonitz γε om. Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> συνθέντων V<sup>d</sup> ἔχει ἐν ... γὰρ om. Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> 9 ἢ ἐν τῷδὶ om.  
 B<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b1</sup> ἐν alt. om. C ἀλλ’ ἐν ... ἄριστον] ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ νῦν ὅλῳ τινὶ τὸ ἄριστον V<sup>d</sup>: ἀλλ’ ἐν ὅλῳ  
 τινὶ τὸ ἄριστον νοοῦν V<sup>d</sup> supra lin. adiunxit ἄριστον] ἀόριστον E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> L<sup>c</sup> P<sup>b</sup> T J<sup>b</sup> initio ὃν]  
 νοῶν E γρ manu rec.: om. E<sup>b1</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a1</sup> P<sup>b</sup> ὅλον τι O’Rahilly 10 δ’] δὴ ci. Bonitz (δ’ fort. non  
 legerit Ps-Al, cf. 714.23) αὐτῇ] ἡ αὐτῇ E (ἡ manus suppl. posterior) αὐτῆς I<sup>b</sup> J L<sup>c</sup> M V<sup>k</sup> P<sup>b</sup>  
 Lat<sup>g</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: αὐτῆς A<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> J<sup>b</sup> T V<sup>d</sup> ἡ νόησις] νόησις E correctus (littera ἡ deleta) 11  
 ἐπισκεπτέον] σκεπτέον M Ps-Phil<sup>l</sup> ὅλου] λόγου T 12 καὶ αὐτὸ fort. om. Ar<sup>u</sup> 13 τὴν  
 τάξιν] *ordine* Lat<sup>a</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> 16 verba ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμοίως post συντέτακται 1075a19 *transfere maluit*  
 Jaeger citatione quadam pseudo-Alexandri nisis (at vide Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> 715.21) καὶ non invenitur  
 in Them Ar<sup>u</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup>

καὶ πτηνὰ καὶ φυτὰ· καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει ὥστε μὴ εἶναι θα-  
 τέρω πρὸς θάτερον μηδέν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐν  
 ἅπαντα συντέτακται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις  
 ἦκιστα ἔξεστιν ὃ τι ἔτυχε ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλείστα 20  
 5 τέτακται, τοῖς δὲ ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις μικρὸν τὸ εἰς  
 τὸ κοινόν, τὸ δὲ πολὺ ὃ τι ἔτυχεν· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἐκάστου  
 ἀρχὴ αὐτῶν ἢ φύσις ἐστίν. λέγω δ' οἶον εἶς γε τὸ διακρι-  
 θῆναι ἀνάγκη ἅπασιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα οὕτως ἔστιν ὧν κοι-  
 νωνεῖ ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ ὅλον. — ὅσα δὲ ἀδύνατα συμβαίνει ἢ 25  
 10 ἄτοπα τοῖς ἄλλως λέγουσι, καὶ ποῖα οἱ χαρισεστέρως λέγον-  
 τες, καὶ ἐπὶ ποίων ἐλάχισται ἀπορίαι, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν.  
 πάντες γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίων ποιοῦσι πάντα. οὔτε δὲ τὸ πάντα οὔτε  
 τὸ ἐξ ἐναντίων ὀρθῶς, οὔτ' ἐν ὅσοις τὰ ἐναντία ὑπάρχει, πῶς  
 ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔσται, οὐ λέγουσιν· ἀπαθὴ γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία 30  
 15 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων. ἡμῖν δὲ λύεται τοῦτο εὐλόγως τῷ τρίτον τι  
 εἶναι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἐναντίων ὕλην ποιοῦσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ  
 τὸ ἄνισον τῷ ἴσῳ ἢ τῷ ἐνὶ τὰ πολλά. λύεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἢ γὰρ ὕλη ἡμῖν ἐστὶν οὐδενὶ ἐναντίον· ἔτι  
 ἅπαντα τοῦ φαύλου μεθεῖξι ἐξω τοῦ ἐνός· τὸ γὰρ κακὸν 35  
 20 αὐτὸ θάτερον τῶν στοιχείων. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οὐδ' ἀρχὰς τὸ ἀγα-  
 θὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν· καίτοι ἐν ἅπασιν μάλιστα τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχή.  
 οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ὅτι ἀρχή, ἀλλὰ πῶς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχή  
 οὐ λέγουσιν, πότερον ὡς τέλος ἢ ὡς κινήσαν ἢ ὡς εἶδος. ἀτό- 1075b1  
 πως δὲ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς· τὴν γὰρ φιλίαν ποιεῖ τὸ ἀγαθόν.  
 25 αὕτη δ' ἀρχή καὶ ὡς κινούσα (συνάγει γὰρ) καὶ ὡς ὕλη·

1075a17 καὶ πτηνὰ post φυτὰ transt. I<sup>b</sup> 17–18 θατέρω] θατέρου Ps-Al<sup>c</sup> (sed -ρω Ps-Phil<sup>c</sup>)  
 18 τι] πρὸς τι C γρ, Lat<sup>b</sup> (typis exscripta) 20 ὃ τι ἔτυχε] διοτιον I<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup> λ E (sed γρ διοτι ἔτυχε ποιεῖν  
 in marg. manu posteriore add.) πάντα] τὰ πάντα E<sup>b2</sup> M V<sup>d</sup> V<sup>k</sup> a Lat<sup>b</sup> fort. 22–23 ἐκάστου  
 ἀρχή ... ἢ φύσις] ἐκάστη ... ἢ φύσις η: ἐκάστου ἀρχή ἢ φύσις αὐτῶν V<sup>k</sup>: *natura uniuscuiusque et*  
*principium* Them (30, 32–31, 1 ed. Landauer): ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἢ φύσις ἀρχή Zeller: ἀρχή ἐκάστου  
 αὐτῶν ἢ φύσις Jaeger 23 γε] τε J<sup>a</sup> a 24 ὧν] ὦ M 25–26 συμβαίνει post ἄτοπα  
 legitur in Ps-Al<sup>1</sup> (at in Ps-Phil<sup>1</sup> verborum ordo non est mutatus) 27 ἐπὶ om. J<sup>b</sup> 28 δὲ  
 τὸ] διὰ τὰ T 31 ὑπ' ἀπ' J<sup>b</sup> εὐλόγως] εὐκόλως H<sup>a</sup> 32 οἱ δὲ] εἰ δὲ Ar<sup>u</sup> (cf. Bouyges, *Notice*  
 CLXXV) 33 δὲ] διὰ ε, fort. Ar<sup>u</sup> 34 ἢ γὰρ] καὶ γὰρ ἢ Ps-Al γρ ὕλη] ἀρχή Lassoṇ ἡμῖν  
 ἐστὶν E<sup>b2</sup> V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup>: ἡ μία A<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>b1</sup> E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>a</sup> T V<sup>d</sup> η x Ps-Al γρ, Lat<sup>s</sup>: μία c K<sup>c</sup> S: μία ἐστὶν H<sup>a</sup> γρ: ἡ μία  
 ἐστὶν B<sup>b</sup> 35 ἅπαντα] πάντα V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> τοῦ φαύλου] *mendacii* Ar<sup>u</sup> 36–37  
 verba τὸ ἀγαθὸν et τὸ κακὸν permutaverunt V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Phil<sup>1</sup> Ar<sup>u</sup> 37 καλόν Robin (*Théor. plat.*  
*des idées* 558.2) ἐν om. H<sup>a</sup> initio μάλιστα post τὸ ἀγαθὸν transpos. M V<sup>d</sup> a 38 οἱ ...  
 ἀγαθὸν ἀρχή om. V<sup>d</sup> T ὅτι ἀρχή E H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup> λ Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: ὅτι ἀρχήν A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> T γρ: in lac. om. V<sup>d</sup>  
 ἀλλὰ πῶς] ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς Ar<sup>u</sup> ut vid. 1075b1 οὐ] οὐδὲ V<sup>d</sup> 3 καὶ pr. fort. om. Ar<sup>u</sup> ὡς alt.  
 om. E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> P<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup> ac principio E<sup>b</sup> et I<sup>b</sup>

- μόριον γάρ τοῦ μίγματος. εἰ δὴ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ συμβέβηκε  
 5 καὶ ὡς ὕλη ἀρχὴ εἶναι καὶ ὡς κινεῖν, ἀλλὰ τό γ' εἶναι οὐ  
 ταυτό. κατὰ πότερον οὖν φιλία; ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄφθαρ-  
 τον εἶναι τὸ νεῖκος· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ φύσις.  
 Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὡς κινεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχὴν· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς κινεῖ. 5  
 ἀλλὰ κινεῖ ἕνεκά τινος, ὥστε ἕτερον, πλὴν ὡς ἡμεῖς λέγο-  
 10 μεν· ἢ γὰρ ἰατρικὴ ἐστὶ πῶς ἢ ὑγίεια. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 ἐναντίον μὴ ποιῆσαι τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ τῷ νῷ. πάντες δ' οἱ  
 τάναντία λέγοντες οὐ χρώνται τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐὰν μὴ ῥυθμίση  
 τις. καὶ διὰ τί τὰ μὲν φθαρτὰ τὰ δ' ἀφθαρτα, οὐδεὶς λέγει· 10  
 πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ποιοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχῶν. ἔτι οἱ  
 15 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ποιοῦσι τὰ ὄντα· οἱ δ' ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο  
 ἀναγκασθῶσιν, ἐν πάντα ποιοῦσιν. — ἔτι διὰ τί αἰεὶ ἔσται γένε-  
 σις καὶ τί αἴτιον γενέσεως, οὐδεὶς λέγει. καὶ τοῖς δύο ἀρχὰς  
 ποιοῦσιν ἄλλην ἀνάγκη ἀρχὴν κυριωτέραν εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ 15  
 εἶδη ἔτι ἄλλη ἀρχὴ κυριωτέρα· διὰ τί γὰρ μετέσχευεν ἢ  
 20 μετέχει; καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνάγκη τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ τι-  
 μιωτάτῃ ἐπιστήμῃ εἶναι τι ἐναντίον, ἡμῖν δ' οὐ. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν  
 ἐναντίον τῷ πρώτῳ οὐδέν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία ὕλην ἔχει,  
 καὶ δυνάμει ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἢ δὲ ἐναντία ἄγνοια εἰς τὸ ἐναν- 20  
 τίον, τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐναντίον οὐδέν. ἔτι εἰ μὴ ἔσται παρὰ τὰ

1075b4 δὴ] δὲ V<sup>d</sup> 5 καὶ ὡς ὕλη M<sup>c</sup> correctus, Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> Bonitz: ὡς ὕλη καὶ cett.  
 Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> κινεῖν] κινεῖν τι C V<sup>k</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> 6–7 ἀφθαρτον] φθαρτὸν D Z Them, sed textum  
 Hebr. corruptum esse suspicatus est Landauer (vide eius app. crit. ad 32, 17) 7 νεῖκος]  
 νίκος Ar<sup>u</sup> Them (cf. p. 32, 17 ed. Landauer et Buxtorf col. 1380, 24 victoria) αὐτῷ Lat<sup>a</sup> Shorey:  
 αὐτὸ codd. Lat<sup>s</sup> 8 ὁ ... κινεῖ om. I<sup>b</sup> 10 ἢ alt.] καὶ H<sup>a</sup> K<sup>c</sup> P: om. E<sup>b</sup> T V<sup>d</sup> V<sup>k</sup> a 11  
 ἐναντίον] ἐναντία C 12 μὴ om. V<sup>a</sup> ῥυθμίση] ῥαθυμῆση T λ, E γρ, C Ps-Al<sup>c</sup>: ῥαθυμῆσει  
 E<sup>b2</sup>: ῥαθυμῆσι V<sup>k</sup>: *egent principio quod eas moveat ac formet* explanans Them, qui verbum  
 ῥαθυμῆω nequaquam vid. legisse (cf. 32, 30 ed. Landauer) 14 πάντα] πάντες E<sup>b2</sup> I<sup>b</sup> V<sup>k</sup> λ  
 E (at γρ πάντα manu posteriore add.) ἔτι] ὅτι transl. Arabica a quodam librario in fine  
 Leidensis adiuncta codicis (cf. 1725, 4 n. 4 ed. Bouyges ac *Notice CXIII*) 16 ἀναγκασθῶσιν]  
 τάνανκασθῶσιν E<sup>b</sup> αἰεὶ] εἰ Arab. quaedam transl. (1725, 6 ed. Bouyges): om. V<sup>k</sup> 18 ἀνάγκη  
 post κυριωτέραν praebebat V<sup>k</sup> 19 ἔτι Bonitz: ὅτι codd. a Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> atque Arab. transl. in  
 extremo cod. Leidensi adscripta (1725, 8 ed. Bouyges): *nam species quoque egent alio principio*  
*eis honoratiore interpretandi causa* Them (33, 32–33 ed. Landauer): ἔσται Bonitz (qui ἔτι vel  
 ἔσται proposuit) Verba ὅτι ἄλλη ἀρχὴ κυριωτέρα, quae apud Ps-Al non inveniuntur, del.  
 Christ; at vero ... ἀρχὴν κυριωτέραν 719.12–13 ed. M. Hayduck ex 1075b18 hausta esse videntur.  
 μετέσχευεν A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b2</sup> M V<sup>d</sup> V<sup>k</sup> a Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: μετέσχει E E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J T η κ: μετέσχοιεν C: *participat*  
 Arab. transl. in Leidensem librum addita (1725, 9 ed. Bouyges) 20 μετέχει] *non participat*  
*eadem transl. Arabica, interpretis ignoti* (vide 1725, 9 ed. Bouyges) 23 ταῦτά Them: ταῦτά  
 A<sup>b</sup> (supra litteras αυ praebebat lituram), B B<sup>b</sup> c D d D<sup>m</sup> f H<sup>a</sup> J<sup>b</sup> K<sup>c</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M<sup>c</sup> O<sup>c</sup> P Q Q<sup>c</sup> T U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>c</sup> V<sup>d</sup> Y<sup>c</sup>:  
 ταῦτα cett. Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup> H<sup>b</sup> 24 ἔτι εἰ E<sup>b2</sup> V<sup>k</sup> V<sup>d</sup> alio correctus atramento, D<sup>m</sup> corr., f post  
 corr. ut vid., λ a Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: εἴτε A<sup>b</sup> E E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J η κ H<sup>b</sup>: εἴτε Christ

αἰσθητὰ ἄλλα, οὐκ ἔσται ἀρχὴ καὶ τάξις καὶ γένεσις καὶ 25  
 τὰ οὐράνια, ἀλλ' αἰετὴς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχή, ὥσπερ τοῖς θεολόγοις  
 καὶ τοῖς φυσικοῖς πᾶσιν. εἰ δ' ἔσται τὰ εἶδη ἢ οἱ ἀριθμοί,  
 οὐδενὸς αἵτια· εἰ δὲ μή, οὔτι κινήσεώς γε. ἔτι πῶς ἔσται ἐξ  
 5 ἀμεγεθῶν μέγεθος καὶ συνεχές; ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς οὐ ποιήσει  
 συνεχές, οὔτε ὡς κινεῖται οὔτε ὡς εἶδος. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲν γ' 30  
 ἔσται τῶν ἐναντίων ὅπερ καὶ ποιητικὸν καὶ κινήτικόν· ἐνδέ-  
 χοιτο γὰρ ἂν μὴ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὕστερόν γε τὸ ποιεῖν δυ-  
 νάμεως. οὐκ ἄρα ἀίδια τὰ ὄντα. ἀλλ' ἔστιν· ἀναιρετέον ἄρα  
 10 τοῦτων τι. τοῦτο δ' εἴρηται πῶς. ἔτι τίνι οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἐν ἡ ἢ  
 ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὅλως τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, 35  
 οὐδὲν λέγει οὐδεὶς· οὐδ' ἐνδέχεται εἰπεῖν, ἐάν μὴ ὡς ἡμεῖς εἴπη,  
 ὡς τὸ κινεῖται ποιεῖ. οἱ δὲ λέγοντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πρῶτον τὸν  
 μαθηματικὸν καὶ οὕτως αἰετὴν ἄλλην ἐχομένην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀρχὰς  
 15 ἐκάστης ἄλλας, ἐπεισοδιώδη τὴν τοῦ παντός οὐσίαν ποιοῦσιν 1076 a 1  
 (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ ἐτέρα τῇ ἐτέρᾳ συμβάλλεται οὔσα ἢ μὴ οὔσα)  
 καὶ ἀρχὰς πολλὰς· τὰ δὲ ὄντα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεύεσθαι  
 κακῶς. “οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω.”

1075 b 25 ἔσται] ἔστιν J<sup>b</sup> V<sup>d</sup> a καὶ γένεσις] καὶ σύνεσις H<sup>a</sup> J<sup>a</sup> γρ, a: om. Hb 27 πᾶσιν] ἅπασιν  
 J<sup>a</sup> a: om. Hb ἢ οἱ ἀριθμοί K<sup>c</sup> Ps-Al<sup>p</sup> Bonitz: ἢ ἀριθμός C<sup>b</sup> N<sup>s</sup> S s t: καὶ οἱ ἀριθμοί Ps-Phil<sup>p</sup>: *et  
 numeri* Hb: *aut numeri* Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>: *numeri et species* locum interpretando explicans Them  
 (34, 20 ed. Landauer): ἀριθμοί V<sup>k</sup> T: ἢ ἀριθμοί cett. 28 οὔτι C E E<sup>s</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J η κ: οὔτε A<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> M V<sup>d</sup>  
 J<sup>b</sup> γρ, a: οὔτοι c M<sup>c</sup> O<sup>c</sup> U<sup>c</sup> V<sup>c</sup> ac supra lin. addiderunt D<sup>m</sup> f J<sup>a</sup> et Q, Eucken 31 καὶ pr. om.  
 J<sup>b</sup> 32 ἂν om. E M V<sup>k</sup> 34 πῶς Bessarionis translatio quae in cod. Marc. Lat. 490 Z  
 (1687) legitur (*quomodo*, fol. 111<sup>r</sup> 10), Bonitz: πῶς Lat<sup>b</sup> typis excusa (*aliquo pacto*): ὡς plurimi  
 codd. Lat<sup>a</sup> Lat<sup>s</sup> Hb: οὕτως T τίνι] τοίνυν V<sup>d</sup> P S: τοίνυν εἰ Q<sup>c</sup> a: τοίνυν πῶς M<sup>c</sup> (verbo πῶς supra  
 lin. eadem manu addito): *quo modo* Hb οἱ om. V<sup>d</sup> M<sup>c</sup> ἢ om. E<sup>s</sup> V<sup>c</sup> 36 εἴπη] εἴποι H<sup>a</sup>  
 V<sup>d</sup> 37 κινεῖται] κοινεῖται E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Lat<sup>a</sup> ut vid. 38 ἀρχὰς] τὰς ἀρχὰς C 1076 a 4 ἔστω J<sup>b</sup> K<sup>c</sup>  
 L<sup>c</sup> E manu rec. correctus, B supra lin., Lat<sup>b</sup> typis descripta, Procl. Ascl. Phlp. Olymp., Gennad.  
 Schol. *Contra Pleth.*: om. cett. codd., a





## CRITICAL NOTES



#### 1069a 22 ἀλλὰ

Jaeger reads οἶον instead of ἀλλὰ, following pseudo-Alexander.<sup>1</sup> This reading, however, does not occur in any of the preserved Greek manuscripts. It is not supported by the *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'*, nor documented in William of Moerbeke's Latin translation.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, both Abū Bīḥr Mattā<sup>3</sup> and Ustāth<sup>4</sup> read equivalents of ἀλλὰ.

We should also note that the adversative connecting particle ἀλλὰ does fit the context. Aristotle argues that quality and quantity are not beings in the full sense and goes on to say, if we accept this reading, “but <sc. they are> qualities and changes”, i.e. items of a lower ontological status, whose common feature it is that they cannot exist without a substratum.<sup>5</sup>

A similar point is made at the beginning of Book Z: οὐσία is that which exists primarily; all the other items are called ὄντα only because they are quantities, qualities, affections etc. of substance.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1069a 24 ταῦτα

Jaeger notes in his apparatus “τοιαῦτα οἶον Arab”. However, the version of Abū Bīḥr Mattā clearly reads an equivalent of ταῦτα,<sup>7</sup> the reading τοιαῦτα being supported only by the Arabic translation of Ustāth.<sup>8</sup>

#### 1069a 30 τὸ κοινὸν σῶμα

Ross inserts a comma between the words τὸ κοινὸν and σῶμα. However, the text as printed by Bekker, Bonitz, Schwegler, von Christ and Jaeger is acceptable; cf. e.g. *GC I*. 5, 320 b 23 σῶμα γὰρ κοινὸν οὐδέν<sup>9</sup> and H. Bonitz, *Index*

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<sup>1</sup> See [Alex.Aphr.] in *Metaph.* 669. 26–27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 2, 204 and *ibid.* XXV 3.2, 246.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, 1414, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1414, 1 v.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ph.* Γ 3, 202 a 13–14 and *Cat.* 8, 8 b 25; cf. *Metaph.* Λ 5, 1071 a 1–2 and *Cat.* 5, 3a 7–8.

<sup>6</sup> See *Metaph.* Z 1, 1028 a 13–20; cf. M. Frede and G. Patzig, *Aristoteles 'Metaphysik Z': Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, vol. II, Munich 1988, 17, 19.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Averroes, *op. cit.*, 1414, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 1414, 2 v.

<sup>9</sup> On this passage see Harold H. Joachim, *Aristotle on Coming-to-Be and Passing-Away* (*De*

*Aristotelicus*, 399 a 51–52 πῶρ καὶ γῆν ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸ κοινὸν σῶμα (*universalem corporis notionem*).<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that in Plato’s *Timaeus* τὸ κοινὸν σῶμα, without any need of a comma in between, also occurs: τὰ δὲ πυρὸς ... τηχθέντι τῷ κοινῷ σώματι ρεῖν μόνον αἴτια συμβέβηκεν.<sup>11</sup> See further Arist. *Ph.* III 4, 203 a 34–b 1.

1069 a 30–32 αἰσθητή, ἦν ... — ἦς ... οἶον ... [ἡ δ’ ἀἰδῖος] — ἦς ...

Our manuscripts transmit the relative clause ἦν πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν after φθαρτή in 1069 a 31 and according to this reading Aristotle asserts merely that the existence of perishable perceptible substances is universally recognized. However, there is evidence to show that in Aristotle’s view the other thinkers admitted the existence of perceptible substances in general, not only that of perishable perceptible substances.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, in *Metaph.* A Aristotle proves merely the existence of eternal imperceptible substances, taking it for granted that there are both imperishable and perishable perceptible ones.<sup>13</sup> Thus the reading αἰσθητή, ἦν πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν attested already in the fourth century by Themistius and corroborated by pseudo-Alexander as well as by pseudo-Philoponus is, as Bonitz pointed out in 1842,<sup>14</sup> preferable to the vulgate.

Also the subsequent section is affected by textual corruption, the *vetustissimi* of both families redundantly repeating the word ἀἰδῖος within the same μὲν ... δὲ construction in 1069 a 31–32. The *recentiores* of the β family, pseudo-Alexander and pseudo-Philoponus (whose commentary is almost entirely based on that of pseudo-Alexander) omit ἀἰδῖος in 1069 a 31, but one has to bear in mind that the *vetustissimus* of the β family, cod. Laur. 87.12 (A<sup>b</sup>), transmits the same corrupt text as the representatives of the α branch. Since this witness, as far as we currently know, is not substantially contaminated by

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*generatione et corruptione*): *A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford 1926, repr. 1999, 121: “σῶμα κοινόν in b 23 ... means *perceptible body in general*, i.e. the indeterminate universal of the definite perceptible bodies.”

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *SE* 22, 178 b 37–39 τὸ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἄπαν τὸ κοινὸν οὐ τότε τι ... σημαίνει and *Metaph.* B 6, 1003 a 8–9 οὐθὲν γὰρ τῶν κοινῶν τότε τι σημαίνει ἄλλα τοιόνδε, ἡ δ’ οὐσία τότε τι.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, ed. I. Burnet, Oxford 1902, 61 b and Francis Macdonald Cornford, *Plato’s Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato Translated with a Running Commentary*, London 1937, repr. Indianapolis 1997, 257–258.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. *Metaph.* H 1 1042 a 7–11, A 3 983 b 6–984 a 18 or Z 2 1028 b 20–21. Whether this Aristotelian view is accurate or inaccurate is not at issue here.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. 1071 b 3–5 and 1073 b 6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H. Bonitz, *Observationes in Aristotelis libros Metaphysicos*, Berlin 1842, 104–105.

the  $\alpha$  family,<sup>15</sup> it is fairly likely that the superior reading found in codd. C, E<sup>b2</sup> M and V<sup>k</sup> is the result of a conjecture which originated in a common ancestor of those MSS. Furthermore, pseudo-Alexander's commentary cannot be conclusively shown to derive in this section from some ancient source,<sup>16</sup> it also cannot be ruled out that the second *deperditus* attested by Alexander of Aphrodisias in fr. 4b Freudenthal<sup>17</sup> duplicated the word ἀτδιος in the same way as the majority of the currently extant codices.

The writings of Themistius on the other hand (whose paraphrase was only to an unsatisfactory extent accessible to Bonitz, who recommended in 1842 the reading supported by pseudo-Alexander<sup>18</sup>) can be safely assigned to the fourth century. His paraphrase reflects ἀτδιος only in 1069a31.<sup>19</sup> Given that this lection is acceptable in content,<sup>20</sup> being corroborated by a Greek *deperditus* whose reading Alexander of Aphrodisias endorsed before the end of the third century<sup>21</sup> as well as by the Arabic version of Abū Bishr Mattā

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. D. Harlfinger, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Metaphysik', in P. Aubenque (ed.), *Études sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote: Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Symposium Aristotelicum*, Paris 1979, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Michael of Ephesus is thought to have written books E–N of the commentary published in CAG I, cf. R. W. Sharples, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias: Scholasticism and Innovation', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.36.2, Berlin—New York 1987, 1182; according to a Byzantine source published already some time ago Anna Comnena asked Michael of Ephesus to elucidate Aristotelian texts on which no ancient commentaries survived. Cf. R. Browning, 'An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena', *Pr. of the Cambr. Philol. Soc.* 188, 1962, 12 as well as R. Sorabji (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, London 1990, 399 and 406.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat* ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, 1421, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Arist. *Metaph.* ed. H. Bonitz, Bonn 1848, X–XI and H. Bonitz, *Observationes criticae* ..., 105.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. R. Brague, *Thémistius: Paraphrase de la Métaphysique d'Aristote*. Livre Lambda traduit de l'hébreu et de l'arabe, Paris 1999, 51 and 130–131.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e.g. *Metaph.* A 9, 991 a 9–10, where reference to the two kinds of perceptible substances is made, eternal perceptible substance being mentioned first. That Aristotle assumes the existence of eternal perceptible substance apart from that of corruptible perceptible substance can be easily seen e.g. from *Metaph.* H 4, 1044 b 3–8 or *Cael.* I 3 270 b 1–4 and I 9 277 b 27–29.

<sup>21</sup> Fragment 4b Freudenthal indicates at its outset that in one of the manuscripts which were available to Alexander the words ἡς ἀνάγκη τὰ στοιχεῖα λαβεῖν followed upon the mention of perceptible perishable substance. From Alexander's discussion of this manuscript reading found in fragments 4a and 4b Freudenthal we can additionally infer that perceptible eternal substance was referred to slightly earlier in the text transmitted by the very same papyrus roll. See Averroes, *op. cit.*, 1420, 6–8, 1420, 14–1421, 2 and 1421, 6–8. Cf. J. Freudenthal, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles* (Abh. d.

ibn-Yūnus,<sup>22</sup> there is no reason to discard it in favour of the other, in various respects uncertain witnesses mentioned earlier.

### 1069 b 2 κοινή

The oldest representatives of the direct tradition, the majority of the *recentiores*, the Arabic version of Ustāth as well as that of Abū Bishr Mattā, the Latin translations, Themistius' paraphrase, the commentary of pseudo-Alexander and that ascribed in cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. to Georgios Pachymeres support the reading κοινή.

According to this reading Aristotle argues that immutable substance is the object of a science other than physics if not a single principle is common to both unchangeable and perceptible substances—the latter being of two kinds, viz. perishable and imperishable, and pertaining to natural science.

The assertion that a science peculiar to a particular group of well-defined objects cannot govern also a further group which encompasses entities exhibiting common features but differing so radically from the ones of the first group as not to share any of their principles is unproblematic.<sup>23</sup>

Given that the Prime Mover is a principle not only in relation to the physical world, but also relatively to the subordinate immaterial movers which impart celestial motions, it can be concluded that a common principle exists and that thus the condition expressed in 1069 b 1–2 is not fulfilled.<sup>24</sup> This does

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K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-histor. Abh. 1884. I), Berlin 1885, 72: "Zu den Worten: 'Und sie ist es, deren Elemente wir nothwendig erforschen müssen' sagt Alexander, daß wir hierunter nicht die entstandene vergängliche Substanz (allein) verstehen dürfen, sondern die beiden Substanzen, die sinnliche entstandene und die nichtentstandene. [...] Er (Alexander—our addition) sagt: Die Worte, die er (Aristoteles), nachdem er der sinnlichen entstandenen, vergänglichen Substanz gedacht hat, sagt 'und sie ist es, deren Elemente man ermitteln muß', finden sich in Einer der verschiedenen Handschriften. Und die Erklärung dieser Worte ist, wie wir ausgeführt haben. An Stelle dieser Worte aber findet sich in einer anderen Handschrift folgendes: 'und diese ist ewig, und sie ist es, deren Elemente wir nothwendig ermitteln müssen u.s.w.' [...] Er (Alexander—our addition) sagt: Die erste Lesart ist die bessere. Denn er (Aristoteles) hat ja schon ausgesprochen, daß er die Absicht hat, von den Elementen der sinnlichen Substanz zu sprechen; diese aber umfaßt auch die Dinge, denen Entstehen zukommt."

<sup>22</sup> It is worth remembering that this Arabic version derives to a great extent from the lemmata of Alexander's lost commentary.

<sup>23</sup> This statement has a similarity e.g. with *APo.* 87 a 39–41; cf. further *Ph. A.* 185 a 1–3.

<sup>24</sup> See M. Frede, *Metaphysics Lambda, Chapter One*. Paper read at the XIVth International Symposium Aristotelicum, Oriel College Oxford, 25 August–1 September 1996, 22 as well as M. Frede and D. Charles (eds.), *Aristotle's Metaphysics Lambda: Symposium Aristotelicum*, Oxford 2000, 74.

not entail, however, as it might appear *prima facie*, that according to the passage under consideration immutable substances cannot be objects of a further science, different from physics. For such a deduction would infringe a basic rule of inference repeatedly referred to by Aristotle.<sup>25</sup> All one is entitled to derive is that if perceptible corruptible, perceptible incorruptible and immutable substances come within the field of one science, they have some principle in common; this, again, is admissible.

Thus the reading αὐτῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ, εἰ μηδεμία αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ κοινὴ is not at variance with the statement from *Physics* B 7 198 a 27–28, according to which immutable entities that impart motion are not subject to natural science,<sup>26</sup> and is entirely acceptable. (It is also worth bearing in mind that the question to what extent all entities have the same principles plays an important role in the later discussion, especially in chapters four, five and ten).

Since it cannot be denied that the Prime Mover is a principle of change for perceptible substance,<sup>27</sup> the reading κινήσεως is, in content, also satisfactory. For if the immutable entities are completely segregated from the world of nature, so that, like the gods of Epicurus, they do not exert any influence upon it, it is of course entirely reasonable to assume that they do not fall within the scope of natural science. However, given that this reading is rather poorly attested and may have originated in an iotacism, there are no sufficient reasons to prefer it to the one supported by the great majority of witnesses.

### 1069 b 11 τὸ τὸδε

According to Bekker's apparatus τὸ τὸδε does not occur in the manuscripts and Ross specifies that τὸ in 1069 b 11 is his own conjecture. Jaeger does not adopt this reading and reports rather misleadingly ad 1069 b 20 where neither τὸ nor τὸδε is found “(τὸ) τὸδε ci. Ross”.

Surprisingly, this reading is present not only in the *vetustissimus* J (fol. 185<sup>r</sup>. 33) and in E *supra lineam* (fol. 291<sup>v</sup>. 30, accurately reported by von Christ), but also in several other MSS, viz. in the independent codices V<sup>d</sup> and I<sup>b</sup> as well as in the *recentiores* mentioned in the apparatus.

In the light of other passages of the *Metaphysics* such as 1089 b 32, 1089 a 11, 1038 b 24, 1038 b 27, 1030 a 5 and 1045 b 1–2, where Aristotle uses τὸ τὸδε when referring to the first category, the reading τὸ τὸδε conjectured by Ross is

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. *SE* 181 a 22–30.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. further e.g. *GC* I 3, 318 a 5–6 and *Cael.* III 1, 298 b 19–20.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. *Metaph.* Λ 7, 1072 b 14 and 4, 1070 b 34–35.

preferable. Since this lection also has significant manuscript authority, as has been shown, there are no compelling reasons to discard it.

**1069 b 21–23** ἢ “ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα” ... “ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει, ἐνεργείᾳ δ' οὐ”

In 1069 b 21 the sources of the direct tradition are divided, both ἢ and ἦν finding support in the manuscripts. The particle ἢ being required by the comparative βέλτιον (ἢ *comparativum*), there is no reason to assume that it intruded into the text at a later stage. As far as the reading ἦν is concerned (which is present in the codices V<sup>d</sup> J<sup>a</sup> M<sup>e</sup> N<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>e</sup> u V<sup>a</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> and in the *editio princeps*, being also attested by the indirect tradition) it should be noted that when referring to the Anaxagorean stance on the primordial state Aristotle in most cases uses either the imperfect ἦν, also found in Anaxagoras' fragment one, or some paraphrastic substitute which turns the reader's attention towards the past.<sup>28</sup> In this section, however, if one follows the vulgate, a chronological indication is missing; since, additionally, in the parallel passage found in 1069 b 23 ἦν is present, being extremely well attested, it is preferable not to reject ἦν in 1069 b 21, also retaining the comparative particle ἢ and thus adopting ἢ ἦν, which is corroborated by pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase as well as by that of pseudo-Philoponus.<sup>29</sup>

The reading ἡμῖν in 1069 b 23 is an obvious corruption. Jaeger, who thought that ὁμοῦ occurs only in the margin of cod. Paris. gr. 1853 (E), discarded this lection, which was endorsed by all the other modern editors, and conjectured μὲν. However, ὁμοῦ, which has a parallel in 1069 b 21, is also found in over twenty other MSS, six of which are independent, viz. E<sup>b</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> and V<sup>d</sup>.

With regard to the preceding φησιν it has to be pointed out that elsewhere likewise, when Aristotle thinks that the details of somebody's saying are of little interest for his readers and that the general purport of the dictum alluded to is sufficiently clear from the context, *verba dicendi* such as λέγει or

<sup>28</sup> See DK 59 B 1, 5: ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν, ἀπειρα καὶ πλήθος καὶ σμικρότητα ... Cf. *Metaph.* I 6, 1056 b 29–30, *Ph.* I 4 187 a 29–30, III 4 203 a 25, VIII 1 250 b 25–26 and *Metaph.* A 8 989 a 34.

<sup>29</sup> On fols. 139<sup>r</sup>–139<sup>v</sup> of cod. Vat. Urb. gr. 49 one reads: ... ὅταν ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας λέγει ἦν ὁμοῦ χρήματα πάντα, τὴν ὕλην ὠνεῖρωττε. βέλτιον γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὴν ὕλην ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὸ ὁμοῦ πάντα· καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν σφαῖρον λέγων τί ἂν ἄλλο λέγοι, ἢ τὴν ὕλην; ταῦτα καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος. Δημόκριτος δὲ, ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα δυνάμει, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὕλην ἐφαντάζετο· δυνάμει γὰρ πάντα ἡ ὕλη. (The punctuation has been modified. Cf. cod. Vind. Phil. 189 fol. 174<sup>r</sup> 29–31 and cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. fol. 190<sup>r</sup> 16–28 mg.) Interestingly, the inferior reading ἡμῖν, which is reflected by pseudo-Alexander's exegetical treatise, as can be seen on p. 673, 21 of Hayduck's edition, left no trace in the commentary ascribed to Georgios Pachymeres.



φησί are used in an elliptical manner and do not serve to introduce citations or loose paraphrases.<sup>30</sup>

In the related passage *Metaph.* Γ 5 1009a 22–36, where both Anaxagoras and Democritus are reported to hold the view that everything is blended with everything,<sup>31</sup> Aristotle points out that these thinkers are in a sense right, his sole criticism being that they ascribe actual existence to that which exists only potentially. Thus the Anaxagorean dictum ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα transformed with the help of the Aristotelian concepts δύνανμις and ἐνέργεια is appropriate,<sup>32</sup> conjecture being unnecessary.

1070a 9–10 ἢ μὲν ὅλην τόδε τι οὕσα τῷ φαίνεσθαι

W. Jaeger prints a crux after οὕσα but does not give a proper proof of the assumption that this part of the text has suffered a deep corruption. Neither of the two passages referred to in his apparatus contains the verb φαίνεσθαι, such as to offer a sufficiently close parallel.

One should bear in mind that in Aristotle's view some kinds of ὅλη are μᾶλλον τόδε τι, "more a 'this'", than others,<sup>33</sup> the degree of their being τόδε τι depending upon their internal structure.<sup>34</sup> Thus the notions ὅλη and τόδε τι are not entirely discrepant.

The subsequent section ὅσα ... ὑποκείμενον (a 10–11) which is closely related to the allegedly corrupt passage, as shown by the particle γάρ,

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *GC* II 1 329 b 1–2, *GA* III 2 752 b 24–26 or *EE* VII 2 1236 b 9–10.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. 1009a 27 μεμῖχθαι πᾶν ἐν παντί.

<sup>32</sup> That the passage ἦν ... δ' οὕ in 1069b 23 expresses an Aristotelian view can also be seen from the discussion of μίξις found in the first book of *De generatione et corruptione* (cf. *GC* I 10, especially ll. 327 b 19–25). As indicated by βέλτιον (1069b 21), Aristotle does not intend to give in 1069b 23 an account that is in all respects fully satisfactory. With regard to Alexander's commentary it should be mentioned that both the *textus* and the *lemmata* are affected by textual corruption; they all reflect the vulgate ἡμῖν (cf. 1443. 4 n. 12, 1445. 14 and 1446. 1 n. 24 ed. Bouyges). The reading on which Alexander based his comments cannot be safely reconstructed. Freudenthal suggested that ὁμοῦ was the underlying reading and in any case his translation "sie waren ewig, ohne Aufhören" (see J. Freudenthal, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, Berlin 1885, 45 n. 1, 79; cf. 1446.1 ed. Bouyges) is closer to the Arabic text than Genequand's misleading "they were necessarily eternal" (cf. Charles Genequand, *Ibn Rushd's Metaphysics: A Translation with Introduction of Ibn Rushd's Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics Book Lam*, Leyden 1984, 85.) It is also worth noting that the *editio princeps* of the Arabo-Latin translation (Padua 27 Jan. 1473, *GW* 2419, *IGI* 828, *Pell* 1229) reads *eterna* without further additions.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *GC* I 3, 318 b 32.

<sup>34</sup> In some kinds of ὅλη form is more present than in others; for a detailed discussion cf. Harold H. Joachim, *Aristotle on Coming-to-Be and Passing-Away: A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford 1926, repr. 1999, 101.

deserves to be mentioned in this context, notwithstanding that it has been left aside in Jaeger's discussion. In this clause Aristotle is referring to aggregates whose constituents cohere by mere contact. It should be pointed out that such an aggregate may well have the appearance of being an integrated whole, a τόδε τι, although it in fact is not more than matter and in want of full unity.<sup>35</sup>

As Aristotle shows in *Metaph.* Δ 4, 1014 b 22–26 the difference between ἀφή and σύμφυσις, i.e. between mere contact and organic unity, is that in the latter case apart from contact there is in both parts something which makes them one relatively to continuity and quantity. Mere contact, however, may have the appearance of σύμφυσις and similarly matter may appear to be τόδε τι.

It is also worth noting that the reading τόδε τι οὖσα τῷ φαίνεσθαι is attested already before the end of the third century AD.<sup>36</sup>

#### 1070 a 10 ἐν ἀφῇ

Aristotle recognizes a kind of unity that is brought about merely by touch, viz. between things whose extremities are contiguous.<sup>37</sup> This kind of unity is less perfect than organic union, which is characterised by the fact that the touching limits “become the same and one”,<sup>38</sup> being not merely in contact.<sup>39</sup>

In 1070 a 10 unity due to contact is contrasted with organic unity. Given that in all the other passages of the genuine writings where ἀφή and σύμφυσις are contrasted the numeral ἐν is present,<sup>40</sup> it is preferable to adopt ἐν ἀφῇ in this section, especially since this reading finds support both in the direct and in the indirect tradition (viz. in the manuscripts C and J<sup>c</sup>, in pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase, which is less affected by the vulgate than

<sup>35</sup> A dissected organism whose parts touch each other along the cut surfaces is mere ὄλη, cf. 1070 a 19–20, 1040 b 7–8 and for further details *Metaph.* H 5, 1044 b 36–1045 a 2.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Alex.Aphr. in *Metaph.* fr. 11 Freudenthal. Alexander provides several interpretations of this section, showing *eo ipso* that the reading in question can also be accepted when the passage is interpreted in certain other ways. It is perhaps likewise worth mentioning that Aristotle's pupil and friend Eudemus of Rhodes is reported to have called matter σωματοειδής (cf. fr. 48 Wehrli).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Ph.* V 3, 226 b 23. According to Aristotle ἀφή fulfilled an important role in the cosmology of Leucippus and in that of Plato, see *GC* 325 b 30–32.

<sup>38</sup> *Ph.* V 3, 227 a 11.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. 227 a 24–27. As Aristotle shows in *Ph.* V.3 contiguity is a prerequisite of continuity and successivity a prerequisite of contiguity.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Ph.* IV 5, 213 a 9–10, VIII 4, 255 a 12–13, *Metaph.* Δ 4, 1014 b 22–24 and *Ph.* V 3, 227 a 16–24; see further *Metaph.* Δ 6 1016 a 7, H 6 1045 a 11, I 1 1052 a 19–20 and M 7 1082 a 20.

the lemmata of this commentary, in pseudo-Alexander's quotations<sup>41</sup> as well as in pseudo-Philoponus' citation.)

#### 1070 a 19 ἄλλα τούτων

As has been stated after a careful examination of the ligatures *in situ*, cod. Vind. Phil. 100 (J) does not transmit ἄλλου in 1070 a 19, as reported by Ross and Jaeger, but ἄλλα.<sup>42</sup> Since the lection ἄλλ' οὐ initially proposed by Ross and endorsed by H. Cherniss as well as by W. Jaeger finds no support in the tradition, the reading ἄλλα adopted in the Ross edition and confirmed *inter alia* by the Arabic version of Ustāth is preferable.

The position of γάρ in 1070 a 20 practically rules out the reading ἄλλὰ, for in the clause starting with the adversative conjunction ἄλλὰ the particle γάρ would be eighth.<sup>43</sup>

#### 1070 a 36 αἱ οὐσίαι

In this section cod. Laurentianus 87.12, whose reading has last been adopted by Jaeger in 1957, lacks corroboration from other members of the β family. In the light of the preceding words τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς τι (1070 a 34), to which Aristotle is clearly referring in the passage we are concerned with, the lection τὰ πρὸς τι καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι is preferable. It is worth noting that this reading finds more manuscript support than assumed by Ross, who none the less backed it up in 1924.<sup>44</sup>

#### 1070 b 7 στοιχεῖόν ἐστιν

In 1070 b 5–7 Aristotle, attempting to show that it cannot possibly be the case that all things consist of the very same elements, argues that an element cannot be identical with the composite it is an element of. In the next section

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Stefan Alexandru, 'A New Manuscript of Pseudo-Philoponus' Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Containing a Hitherto Unknown Ascription of the Work,' *Phronesis* 44, 1999, 349 n. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2. *Metaphysica*. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeke, ed. Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem, Leyden 1995, 325.

<sup>43</sup> According to Denniston such a postponement of γάρ is at least highly unlikely to occur in prose; for in his prose examples this particle occupies at the most the fourth place (cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. rev. by K. J. Dover, Oxford 1950, repr. London 1996, 97–98).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. further 1071 a 30 τῶν οὐσιῶν and *infra* in line nine of page 159 the nominative plural *substantiae*.

we are told, if we follow the reading found *inter alia* in cod. Laur. 87.12 and in the *editio princeps*, that intelligibles such as 'being' and 'one' are not elements, since they pertain also to any of the compounds. So if 'being' really were a basic constituent of the Universe, it could not possibly be different from its composites (assuming for the moment that 'being' and some other element or elements could merge, giving rise to compounds), inasmuch as 'being' can be *pari passu* predicated of all the composites. Thus the fact that an identity between element and compound is ruled out entails, without any need of an appeal to earlier statements, that either 'being' or 'one', which Aristotle regards as belonging also to any of the composites, cannot be an element. The polemical remark in 1070 b 7–8 therefore follows sufficiently neatly upon the preceding section: After having stated that elements cannot be identical with their compounds, Aristotle rejects as unsatisfactory the candidates of Platonic origin 'being' and 'one', seeing that they do not fulfil this requirement. It should be mentioned that δὴ with inferential force is not infrequent in Aristotle, even if translators into English do not often use 'therefore', adopting 'then', written between commas, instead, to indicate that, as Denniston puts it, the notions of inference and pure progression are combined.<sup>45</sup> As far as pseudo-Alexander's commentary is concerned, it is worth noting that the lemma and the subsequent sentence<sup>46</sup> unambiguously reflect the vulgate, but that the paraphrase found in the ensuing lines is closer to the reading of cod. Laur. 87.12 than to the reading τῶν νοητῶν στοιχείων. For the text is paraphrased as indicating that 'being' and 'one' cannot be elements of all things,<sup>47</sup> not as stating e.g. that intelligibles cannot be identical with their compounds. Since the commentary ascribed in cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. to Georgios Pachymeres, which is almost exclusively based on a valuable *deperditus* of the exegetical treatise published in the first volume of the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, does not reflect the section [Alex.Aphr.] in *Metaph.* 679. 22–23 or the reading στοιχείων from 1070 b 7,<sup>48</sup> it

<sup>45</sup> Cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 21950, repr. London 1996, 238–239. On inferential δὴ in Aristotle cf. R. Eucken, *De Aristotelis dicendi ratione* I, Göttingen 1866, 40–41 and further A. Schwegler, *Die Metaphysik des Aristoteles* IV, Tübingen 1848, repr. Frankfurt a. M. 1960, 20 as well as H. Bonitz, *Index Aristotelicus* 172 b 30–173 a 11. Besides, it is worth bearing in mind that the meaning of 'therefore' overlaps with that of 'then' (Cf. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford 21989, s.v. 'then' B 5).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. [Alex.Aphr.], in *Metaph.* 679. 22–23.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, especially 679. 24, 26 and 31.

<sup>48</sup> On fol. 140<sup>v</sup>, 17–20 of cod. Vat. Urb. gr. 49 one reads οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ δὴν στοιχεῖα πάντων καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν συνθέτων ὑπάρχει ... (Cf. cod. Vind. Phil. 189. fol. 175<sup>r</sup>, 8–9 and cod. Ambr. F 113 sup., fol. 191<sup>v</sup>, 37–40.)

cannot be ruled out that initially the vulgate found no support in the partly spurious commentary of Alexander.

With regard to the grammatical structure of the section τῶν νοητῶν στοιχείων ἔστιν it should be noted that this construction is found already in Homer,<sup>49</sup> also occurring in several other classical authors, e.g. Herodotus,<sup>50</sup> Xenophon<sup>51</sup> and Aristophanes.<sup>52</sup> More recent research has shown that the partitive genitive without governing word occurs in Aristotle's writings more often than assumed by Ross,<sup>53</sup> who nevertheless in this instance regarded the construction as appropriate, indicating as Aristotelian parallels *Metaph.* Δ 15 1021 a 21, Λ 4 1070 a 22 and *Rh.* III 15 1416 a 21.<sup>54</sup>

Before we proceed a look at the wider context of the passage is desirable. Already from the beginning of the fourth chapter Aristotle's concern is to show that it cannot be the case that all things are made up of literally the same elements—this applying only if one speaks universally and analogically (1070 a 31–33). Up to 1070 b 4 it has been shown that the categories cannot be constituents of one another and that nothing different from the categories is common to all things. However, if one could take it for granted that there are elements coinciding with their composites and such an element were a constituent of all the categories<sup>55</sup> (by coinciding *in statu constructo* with a category, that element would already fulfil formally the requirement formulated in 1070 b 1–2), this would entail that all things have the same constituent, such that Aristotle's stance would hardly be defensible. Consequently the lines 1070 b 4–10 have, if one adopts the reading of cod. Laur. 87.12, a notable function in the argumentative strategy of this section and should not be regarded as superfluous.

If, on the other hand, one chooses the vulgate reading στοιχείων in 1070 b 7 and τῶν στοιχείων (1070 b 5) is to be regarded as parallel to τῶν νοητῶν

<sup>49</sup> Cf. N 191 and e.g. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, vol. II, Paris 1953, repr. 1986, 50–51.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Hdt. 3.102.2.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. X. *HG* 4.2.20.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ar. *V* 352.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Arist. *Rh.* ed. R. Kassel, Berlin 1976, app. crit. ad *Rh.* II 1 1378 a 32 and *Rh.* II 8 1386 a 2 as well as III 14 1416 a 21 (in all these sections the text established by R. Kassel deviates from that of the Ross edition).

<sup>54</sup> A further interesting parallel is found in *HA* VIII 16, 600 a 18–19: φωλοῦσι δ' οὐθὲν διακρίμενως καὶ τῶν γαμψωνύχων καὶ τῶν εὐθυωνύχων. For a comprehensive discussion of this construction and for other parallels cf. E. Nachmanson, *Partitives Subjekt im Griechischen* (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift XLVIII.2), Göteborg 1942, especially pp. 26–28, further Schwyzler II. 102, Kühner-Gerth I. 32 and Blaß—Debrunner<sup>14</sup> 135–136.

<sup>55</sup> Thus also satisfying the prerequisite condition for being a principle that is mentioned in *GA* V 7, 788 a 14–16.

στοιχείων (b 7), one has to face the problem that the γὰρ clause in 1070 b 8 taken on its own contrasts with the sentence to which it refers, instead of justifying or explaining it. For it does not illustrate that in the case of intelligible elements the constituents are different from the compounds, but rather makes explicit that in the case of some στοιχεῖα, viz. στοιχεῖα νοητά, compounds coincide with their elements, which conflicts with the earlier statement οὐδὲν ... οἷόν τ' εἶναι τῶν στοιχείων τῷ ἐκ στοιχείων συγκειμένῳ τὸ αὐτό (1070 b 5–6).

The vulgate reading στοιχείων evidently is a corruption generated by the preceding νοητῶν,<sup>56</sup> the lection of A<sup>b</sup>, which is attested by the *Translatio Anonyma sive Media*<sup>57</sup> and by the *editio princeps*, being preferable. To adopt στοιχεῖόν ἐστιν (with all the modern editors with the exception of Jaeger) rather than στοιχεῖον is also appropriate insofar as one does not piece together a reading from different branches of the tradition.

#### 1070 b 20 χρώματι

Jaeger unlike the other editors since Brandis and unlike the *editio princeps* adopts the reading χρώμασι. However, when referring to colour in general (without being interested in chromatic variety) Aristotle normally uses the singular.<sup>58</sup>

The passage 1071 a 26 mentioned in support of the reading χρώμασι<sup>59</sup> is not a sufficiently close parallel. For in that passage Aristotle merely lists a number of entities that cannot possibly belong to the same γένος (e.g. colours, sounds or substances) and thus cannot have the same principles. *Metaph.* I 7, 1057 b 15 offers a much closer parallel.<sup>60</sup> The reading χρώματι of the α family, which finds support in two Arabic versions,<sup>61</sup> is thus preferable.

<sup>56</sup> The connection between the noun στοιχεῖον and the adjective νοητός as found in the reading νοητῶν στοιχείων is, as far as I can see, unparalleled in the Aristotelian corpus.

<sup>57</sup> See Aristoteles Latinus XXV 2, *Metaphysica*. *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'*, ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leyden 1976, 208.

<sup>58</sup> See e.g. *Sens.* 442 b 18 οἷον ἐν χρώματι τῷ μέλανι τὸ λευκόν or 445 b 24–25 οἷον ἐν χρώματι τὸ λευκόν καὶ τὸ μέλαν. Cf. further *Sens.* 439 b 11–12, *Ph.* E 1, 224 b 19–22 and *de An.* 419 a 33–34.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Jaeger's apparatus *ad locum*.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Top.* Δ 3, 123 b 26, B 2, 109 a 38. See also *Cat.* 14 a 20–22.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Richard Walzer, 'On the Arabic Versions of Books A, a and Λ of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*', *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 63, 1958, 227: "Bonitz's and Ross's preference for the singular χρώματι is supported by Ar<sup>u</sup> and Ar<sup>m</sup>".

## 1070 b 24 and 29–30 [καὶ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή]

In the fourth chapter there are two occurrences of the sequence καὶ ... ἀρχή within a few lines of one another, which have puzzled commentators; let us begin by considering the first one. Having used ἀρχή and στοιχείον indiscriminately in the preceding section,<sup>62</sup> Aristotle starts differentiating these notions after mentioning the efficient cause in 1070 b 22–23. On the one hand ἀρχή and στοιχείον are said to differ from each other (1070 b 23), on the other hand they are both designated as causes. In what sense they are regarded as different becomes clear if one looks at 1070 b 25–26, where Aristotle states that there are analogically three elements (i.e. form, privation and matter<sup>63</sup>), but four causes and principles,<sup>64</sup> the efficient cause being external and thus not a constitutive element. If one accepts the reading in question, at 1070 b 24 a distinction regarding the term ἀρχή is drawn (the demonstrative ταῦτα referring to what precedes<sup>65</sup>). A difference would thus be brought out between ἀρχή subsuming form, privation and matter on the one side, and a broader notion of ἀρχή, covering form, privation, matter and the efficient cause on the other. As shown by the presence of ἀρχή broadly understood, this is not a division of some genus into its species<sup>66</sup> (for in such a case one would expect the principles which are elemental constituents to be contrasted with external ones); it should rather be regarded as a semantic distinction.<sup>67</sup> However, as far as I can see such a usage of διαιρεῖσθαι εἰς is unparalleled in Aristotle's genuine works. In none of the examples mentioned by Bonitz where διαιρεῖν serves to discern various meanings of plural-valent terms is an inclusive, general term said to διαιρεῖσθαι εἰς 'be divided into' the general term itself and some of its subsidiaries covering a narrower semantic field. It should further be noted that in the passages *Metaph.* Δ 1, 1013 a 4, 7 quoted by Ross in support of the reading καὶ ... ἀρχή at 1070 b 24 the verb διαιρέω does not occur at all, and that, more importantly, in those sections, unlike here,<sup>68</sup> external and internal principles are juxtaposed. Worth mentioning in this context is also that the paraphrase of Themistius does not

<sup>62</sup> Cf. 1070 a 34, 1070 b 16; on synonymous usage of ἀρχή and στοιχείον cf. Bonitz, *Index*, 112 a 61–b 4.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. 1070 b 18–19.

<sup>64</sup> Form, privation, matter and the moving cause.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. e.g. Schwyzer II, 209 and Kühner-Gerth I, 646.

<sup>66</sup> It might be worth noticing that the dichotomy mentioned in 1069 a 34 is disanalogous to the distinction made, according to the lection καὶ ... ἀρχή, in 1070 b 24.

<sup>67</sup> On this use of διαιρεῖν in Aristotle's writings cf. Bonitz, *Index*, 180 a 17–20.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. apart from 1070 b 22–24 also the ensuing lines b 25–26.

reflect the sequence καὶ εἰς ταῦτα διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀρχή in any of the two sections. Moreover, Themistius *inter alia* remarks ad 1070 b 23–24 that what is a principle doubtless is not an element;<sup>69</sup> this remark conflicts with the reading καὶ ... ἀρχή, since according to this lection the notion of ἀρχή more narrowly understood and that of στοιχεῖον are coextensive. Thus Themistius presumably did not read καὶ ... ἀρχή at 1070 b 24; in any case this applies to the Arabic version of Abū Bishr Mattā as edited by M. Bouyges,<sup>70</sup> which is partly based upon the lemmata of Alexander's lost commentary. Sources of the indirect tradition therefore support the deletion proposed by H. Bonitz.<sup>71</sup>

Regarding 1070 b 29–30 it should be noted with respect to the contents that, oddly enough, the causes distinguished according to this reading do not correspond to the four main types of cause presented e.g. in *Metaph.* Δ 2 1013a15–34 and A 3 983 a 26–32,<sup>72</sup> privation occurring instead of the final cause. Furthermore, when the verb διαιρέω is used in the present tense by Aristotle and is construed with the preposition εἰς to indicate the species into which some genus is being divided, the respective species are in most instances mentioned after the verb, not before it, as it would here be the case if one accepted the reading καὶ ... ἀρχή.<sup>73</sup> That a division is brought up in the framework of this grammatical construction after two series of examples

<sup>69</sup> Cf. CAG vol. V, 5, 10.3 (Hebr.) and R. Brague, *op. cit.*, 67.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Averroes, *Tafsīr ma ba'd al-Tabi'at*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III, Beirut 1948, 1523.1 n. 5. According to some of the witnesses a fragment of a second Arabic version, which supports the vulgate and is quoted by Averroes, seems to have crept into Abū Bishr Mattā's translation (cf. *ibid.*, 1525.9–10 and 1523.2 n. 10 as well as C. Genequand, *Ibn Rushd's Metaphysics: A Translation with Introduction of Ibn Rushd's Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics Book Lam*, Leyden 1984, 121.4 and 8–10). The fragment in question, which according to Bouyges' apparatus ad 1523.2 is missing in cod. Paris. Hebr. 886, cod. Paris. Lat. 15453 as well as in the 1542 Lyon edition of Averroes' works, and which is absent from the *editio princeps* of the Arabo-Latin translation (Padua 1473), may have been initially added in the margin of Mattā's version written in some Arabic MS that transmitted Averroes' commentary. Cf. also R. Walzer, *op. cit.*, 224: "... the words (sc. καὶ ... ἀρχή) are omitted in Ar<sup>m</sup> but translated in Ar<sup>u</sup>, which proves that they did not occur in one branch of the ancient tradition." For some useful background information see F. W. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's Commentary and Short Treatise on Aristotle's De interpretatione*, Oxford 1981, repr. 1991, xlvii.

<sup>71</sup> See Hermann Bonitz, *Observationes criticae in Aristotelis libros Metaphysicos*, Berlin 1842, 130.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. further e.g. *Ph.* II 3 194 b 23–35, 195 a 15–25, 7 198 a 22–24, IV 1 209 a 20–22 and *GA* I 1 715 a 4–7.

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. *EE* II 7 1223 a 26–27 ὅρεξις εἰς τρία διαιρεῖται, εἰς βούλησιν καὶ θυμὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν, *Pol.* VII 12 1331b 4–5, II 6 1264 b 31–34 or *PA* I 3 643 a 17. Cf. further *Rh.* I 15, 1377 a 7–10 and *Pol.* VII 10 1329 a 41–b 2.



is unparalleled and, as has already been observed,<sup>74</sup> rather awkward. Since, additionally, this reading finds no support in a series of important witnesses, it is reasonable to suppose with Bonitz, Ross and Jaeger that it crept into the text at a later stage.<sup>75</sup>

#### 1070 b 25 καὶ οὐσία

The vulgate reading οὐσα is awkward because the attributive participle which is separated from the determinandum (τὸ δ' ὡς κινεῖν ἢ ἰσταν) by only three words disagrees with it in gender. This kind of disagreement occurs also elsewhere in Aristotle's writings,<sup>76</sup> but the words separating the feminine participle of the verb εἶναι from the preceding noun that it determines are never as few as in this case.<sup>77</sup> In the absence of a sufficiently close parallel one can reasonably assume that the disagreement in gender mentioned above is the result of textual corruption.

On the other hand Jaeger has rejected the reading καὶ οὐσία found in A<sup>b</sup> as a nonsensical conjecture. It should be first of all pointed out, however, that this reading also occurs in the *editio princeps*, which is not based on the Medicean codex,<sup>78</sup> such that the lection καὶ οὐσία may well have additional manuscript authority.

<sup>74</sup> See M. Crubellier, *Métaphysique Lambda 4 (1070 a 31–1071 a 3): Analyse de l'argumentation*. Paper read at the XIVth International Symposium Aristotelicum, Oriol College Oxford, 25 August–1 September 1996, 10: "La mention de la division de la classe des principes paraît de toute façon déplacée après des exemples ...". Cf. M. Frede and D. Charles (eds.), *Aristotle's Metaphysics Lambda: Symposium Aristotelicum*, Oxford 2000, 154.

<sup>75</sup> In this context one should not lose sight of the fact that divisions were popular in philosophical circles for a long time; cf. apart from *MM* 1183 b 38, 1184 b 1, 1196 b 15, 1207 b 27 and the *διαίρεσεις* published by V. Rose (*Aristoteles pseudepigraphus*, Leipzig 1863, repr. Hildesheim 1971, 679–693) e.g. *Stob.* vol. II p. 135 ed. C. Wachsmuth, *Alcin.* *Intr.* 154.6, 156.34 ed. C. F. Hermann, *Iamb. Protr.* p. 24.14–34.4 ed. H. Pistelli, *Procl. Theol. Plat.* vol. III pp. 32.21, 54.13 and 98.6 ed. H. D. Saffrey—L. G. Westerink or *Dam. Pr.* vol. I p. 102, 157 and 172 ed. C. A. Ruelle. They are also present in the patristic literature—e.g. in the writings of St. John of Damascus—, with which Byzantine scholars and likewise many scribes were familiar.

<sup>76</sup> Jaeger indicates in his apparatus the section 1072 a 25 as a parallel.

<sup>77</sup> See e.g. *de An.* 408 b 18–19 ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἔοικεν ἐγγίνεσθαι οὐσία τις οὐσα or *Metaph.* B 5, 1002 b 6–8 οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο (sc. τὸ νῦν) ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ φείρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἕτερον αἰεὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ οὐσία τις οὐσα and 1002 a 2–4 τὸ δὲ σῶμα τὸ ταῦτα πεπονθὸς μόνον ὑπομένει ὡς δὲ τι καὶ οὐσία τις οὐσα. Cf. also *Ph.* 203 b 7–8 ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον (sc. τὸ ἄπειρον) ὡς ἀρχὴ τις οὐσα and *Mete.* 340 b 14–15 τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄνω περιφορὰν σῶμα οἷον ὕλη τις οὐσα. The observation made above applies also to *Metaph.* 1072 a 25. For a discussion of the grammatical structure of such passages cf. Kühner-Gerth I, 76 and Schwyzler II, 608, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. M. Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius: Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund*, Paderborn 1997, 51.

That the reading καὶ οὐσία is appropriate becomes apparent if one bears in mind how Aristotle argues in favour of his views from 1070 a 31 onwards, i.e. starting from the section which since the Renaissance is commonly designated as the beginning of the fourth chapter. In the endeavour to show that it is impossible for everything to have literally the same principles, Aristotle has proved *inter alia* that one cannot regard all things as being composed of substance (1070 b 3), so that substance cannot be a principle of all the other entities by virtue of being their constitutive element. Hence it might *prima facie* appear that οὐσία—in spite of what has been stated at the beginning of the book—, does not have such a pre-eminent role in the Aristotelian ontology. This impression, however, is dispelled by the fact that the entities recognized to be elements and principles of all things in 1070 b 13,<sup>79</sup> viz. form, privation and matter, are explicitly designated as substances. Thus it equally is not surprising that when from b 23 onwards a further principle is introduced, viz. the efficient cause, the additional principle is also designated as substance (1070 b 20). Through the reading καὶ οὐσία it becomes clear that—although, as has been shown earlier, the category of substance is not a universal constituent and a principle similar e.g. to those assumed by the material monists—the entities which play pivotal roles in the Aristotelian Universe (including the Prime Mover mentioned *ex abrupto* in 1070 b 34–35) are nevertheless, without exception, substances.<sup>80</sup>

Also the hitherto unexplored Latin translation transmitted on fols. 95<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>v</sup> of the inaccurately catalogued cod. Ambr. D 465 inf. seems to reflect the reading οὐσία in b 25.<sup>81</sup>

Jaeger's supposition that the words οὐκ ἔστι στοιχείον dropped out after οὐσία in 1070 b 25 does not find any support in the indirect tradition; moreover, since the words mentioned by Jaeger cover the same ground as Aristotle's sufficiently explicit remarks from 1070 a 23–24, there is no need to assume a lacuna in this section.

<sup>79</sup> Provided that one speaks analogically, cf. τῷ ἀνάλογον in 1070 b 17–18.

<sup>80</sup> Besides, less than fifteen Bekker lines further the fact that the efficient cause is a substance comes to some extent into play when Aristotle writes τῶν οὐσιῶν ἄνευ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ πάθη καὶ αἱ κινήσεις (cf. 1071 a 1–2, bearing in mind that the division into chapters is of fairly recent date).

<sup>81</sup> The relevant sections are fol. 97<sup>v</sup> 4–5 and 109<sup>r</sup> 28, cf. *infra* pp. 160 and 177: *causae unde motus profluit et vim efficiendi habent ... substantiarum genus ...*

## 1070 b 26 αἴτια

There is no noteworthy semantic difference between the readings αἴτια and αἰτία.<sup>82</sup> Easily noticeable, however, is the fact that Aristotle regularly uses αἴτιον, not αἰτία in this section.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, the reading αἴτια in 1070 b 26 is supported not only by A<sup>b</sup>, as mentioned in Ross's apparatus, but also by M and C as well as by the paraphrase of pseudo-Alexander, which represents an independent branch of the textual tradition.

## 1071 a 24 εἰ δὴ

The reading ἤδη, which occurs only in some independent codices of the α family, finds almost no support in the other branches of the direct and indirect tradition, being attested merely by William of Moerbeke's Latin version, which has rather strong affinities with cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 100 (J).<sup>84</sup> In all the instances mentioned by Bonitz, to which Jaeger directs attention, ἤδη indicating logical proximity relates to something mentioned slightly earlier in the text; this applies also to the passage 1073 b 3 cited in Jaeger's apparatus. Furthermore, in the examples drawn from the genuine Aristotelian works the sections to which ἤδη with logical force points back occur within the same period as the adverb; on no occasion is ἤδη found at the beginning of a period or in second place, as would here be the case if one adopted the lection preferred by Jaeger.<sup>85</sup> If one took the ἤδη with logical force to refer back to the immediately preceding passage, the ἔπειτα separating the two sections would be unsuitable. It should equally be mentioned that ἔπειτα followed by ἤδη of logical proximity is, as far as I can see, nowhere else found in Greek literature. In the absence of appropriate parallels Jaeger's attempt thus remains unavailing. Given this difficulty one might wish to understand ἤδη as a temporal adverb, rendering it as 'already'. According to this interpretation Aristotle would be asserting that the causes of substances are already causes of other things (as though they had not been causes of other things at an earlier stage) and it is not difficult to see why Jaeger was not attracted by such an approach.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Bonitz, *Index* 22 b.

<sup>83</sup> See 1070 b 22, 24, 27 and 32. The word αἴτια occurs thrice in the period we are concerned with.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2, *Metaphysica*. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeke, ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leyden 1995, 9.

<sup>85</sup> It should be noted that Jaeger also needs a parenthesis for the sentence to construe.

If one keeps εἶδη as transmitted by most of the MSS in 1071a24 and prints ἄλλα δὲ ἄλλων in a parenthesis, as Jaeger does, there is no need to punctuate before ἄλλα, but the whole statement is inappropriate, forms of substances being *inter alia* regarded as constitutive elements (στοιχεῖα) of entities that do not belong to the same genus, e.g. colours or sounds.<sup>86</sup>

To avoid this unwelcome implication it would be preferable to insert a punctuation mark after οὐσιῶν in a 24 with Schwegler and Bonitz. According to this reading, without or with the article τὰ preceding εἶδη, Aristotle would be announcing (on one interpretation) that he is going to focus on forms of substances; this, however, is inapposite inasmuch as in the ensuing lines a variety of entities are referred to. Furthermore, the suggestion that ὁρᾶν δεῖ or σκοπεῖν δεῖ should be supplied after ἔπειτα in 1071a24 is problematic, as Bonitz himself seems to have realised.<sup>87</sup> Besides, if one takes εἶδη to mean 'species', the sense remains unsatisfactory for similar reasons. Furthermore, the preceding lines too have a bearing upon the issue which according to this reading is newly introduced.<sup>88</sup>

One might also regard αἰτία ἐστι or ἀρχαί εἰσιν as implicit after οὐσιῶν, following pseudo-Alexander or Schwegler. However, the rich contents of lines 1071a24–29 would be inappropriately ushered in by such an opening and the contraposition between πρῶται ἀρχαί (1071a18) and εἶδη ... τῶν οὐσιῶν (sc. αἰτία ἐστι / ἀρχαί εἰσιν) is not entirely satisfactory.<sup>89</sup>

With regard to the reading εἰ δὴ endorsed *inter alios* by Ross, according to which Aristotle would be referring to the fact that the causes of substances are causes of all things, it should be mentioned on the one hand that the particle δὴ frequently indicates the resumption of a line of thought after a break<sup>90</sup> and on the other that Aristotle repeatedly uses δὴ when referring to one of his doctrines which he considers to be known to the reader.<sup>91</sup> Since in this section Aristotle endeavours to wind up the discussion

<sup>86</sup> This is in disagreement also with the words ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη found in line 1071a25.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *Aristoteles Metaphysik*. Übersetzt von Hermann Bonitz. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Eduard Wellmann, Berlin 1890, 254 n. 1.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. 1071a21–24 remembering the statement from 1071a8–9.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Metaphysics: A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, II, Oxford 1924, repr. 1997, 366.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Kühner-Gerth II, 127 and e.g. Arist. *Cael.* II 1, 284 a 35.

<sup>91</sup> For an instance of this usage in *Metaph.* A cf. 1069b9: εἰ δὴ αἱ μεταβολαὶ τέτταρες ... See also A. B. Kische, review of *Aristotelis de anima libri tres*. Ad interpretum Graecorum auctoritatem et codicum fidem recognovit commentariis illustravit Frider. Adolph. Trendelenburg, Ienae 1833, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1834, 1885–1886, further A. Schwegler, *Die Metaphysik des Aristoteles*. Grundtext, Übersetzung und Commentar, IV, Tübingen 1848, repr.

started at the beginning of the fourth chapter, it is not surprising if he draws upon earlier statements, taking it for granted that the audience is familiar with some of his basic tenets. With this reading the passage fits fairly well into the context; given that at the beginning of chapter five it has been stated that without the substances nothing else can exist,<sup>92</sup> it is implied that the principles of substances are the principles of all things. However, what the reader is not so easily aware of without a reminder is that substances have principles which differ e.g. from those of colours and that, furthermore, different substances have different principles. The preceding remark (1071a17–24) has prepared the ground for this general statement, which, in turn, is important for the subsequently presented final conclusion.<sup>93</sup>

It is worth remembering that Rolfes' εἰ δὴ is not without manuscript support inasmuch as the text has been preserved for a long time in *scriptio continua*, such that only the accents, to the extent to which they were present,<sup>94</sup> signalled the difference between εἴδη and εἰ δὴ.

#### 1071a29 δὴ

Given that Aristotle is drawing the conclusions of an investigation which started already in 1070a31, at the beginning of chapter four, the reading δὴ found in the majority of independent MSS of the α family, confirmed by pseudo-Alexander's quotation and adopted by Bonitz and von Christ as well as Jaeger, is preferable.

#### 1071a33 τὰ ἅ [ῆ] τῷ ἀνάλογον

The passages 1070b16–19 and 1071a27–28 show that the disjunctive particle ἥ does not fit the context as it is transmitted by all the independent manuscripts. Since Bonitz' deletion finds support in the Arabic rendering of Abū Bishr Mattā, the commentary of pseudo-Alexander, the paraphrase of pseudo-Philoponus and in Bessarion's Latin version, this athetesis

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Frankfurt a. M. 1960, 20, R. Eucken, *De Aristotelis dicendi ratione* I, Göttingen 1866, 38 and J. A. Hartung, *Lehre von den Partikeln der griechischen Sprache*, vol. I, Erlangen 1832, 272–273.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. e.g. *Metaph.* Z 9, 1034a31.

<sup>93</sup> For the use of adversative δὲ in apodoses cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. rev. by K. J. Dover, Oxford 1950, repr. London 1996, 180–181 and further e.g. *Metaph.* B 4 999a27.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. rev. by P. J. Parsons, London 1987 (*BICS Supplement* 46), 11: "Accents are rarely written in prose literature ... Breathings, like accents, are written infrequently and capriciously".

represents a much better solution to the textual problem than the conjecture of Ross, which is supported merely by some apographs, being most probably due to a scribal error.

**1071 a 37–38 λέγεται**

None of the extant manuscripts omits the verb λέγεται athetized by Jaeger. It also is not entirely certain that pseudo-Alexander's quotation as it stands reflects the reading found in a *codex perditus*; the second λέγεται might have been left aside for merely stylistic reasons, given that the citation is intervoven with comments. Since similar reiterations of verbs occur also elsewhere in Aristotle's writings,<sup>95</sup> there are not sufficient reasons for the deletion.

**1071 b 28 ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα**

All the modern editors before Ross and Jaeger preferred the reading ἦν ὁμοῦ found in most of the independent manuscripts and in the *editio princeps*. This reading is corroborated by the paraphrase of Themistius<sup>96</sup> and pseudo-Alexander's quotation as well as by several mediaeval translations, *inter alia* by the Arabic version of Abū Bishr Mattā (10th century).

That the reading ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα, which finds stronger support in the tradition, also makes better sense becomes obvious in the light of *Ph.* A 4 187 a 29, where Aristotle writes with regard to inquirers into nature according to whom nothing comes into being from that which has no existence “διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὕτω λέγουσιν, ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα.”<sup>97</sup>

Ross does not discuss this passage, but mentions *Λ* 2, 1069 b 20–23 as a parallel; as far as the textual problem is concerned this is not a sound one, given that pseudo-Alexander attests the reading ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα in 1069 b 21,<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Cf. e.g. *Int.* 18 b 24–25 δέοι γὰρ ἂν μήτε γενέσθαι ναυμαχίαν μήτε μὴ γενέσθαι and *HA* X 12, 635 a 13 κἂν θιγγάνῃ κἂν μὴ θιγγάνῃ. See also *Metaph.* M 4, 1079 a 29 εἴ τι αὐτοῦ διπλασίου μετέχει, τοῦτο καὶ ἑαυτοῦ μετέχει as well as *Top.* Δ 6, 127 b 19.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Them. in *Metaph.* A Hebraice et Latine, ed. S. Landauer, Berlin 1903 (Comm. in Aristotelem Graeca V. v), 14, 20–21 correctly translated by R. Brague as “ceux qui posaient que la matière est antérieure à toutes choses. En effet, la doctrine selon laquelle «toutes les choses étaient ensemble» ...” (Cf. R. Brague, *Thémistius: Paraphrase de la Métaphysique d'Aristote*. Livre Lambda traduit de l'hébreu et de l'arabe, Paris 1999, 80.)

<sup>97</sup> The manuscripts of the *Physics* are not at variance in this section according to Ross' apparatus; the reading ἦν finds support also in the commentaries of Simplicius and John Philoponus (cf. Simp. in *Ph.* 163, lines 8, 16 and 24, 460.26, 462.11 as well as 1153.24; see further Philp. in *Ph.* 94.27, 94.31 and 397, 20–21).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. [Alex.Aphr.] in *Metaph.* 673, 13–15.

the verb ἦν being supported by several manuscripts as well as by the Arabic version of Ustāth (9th century).<sup>99</sup>

The lection ἦν is also consistent with the doctrine of Anaxagoras, to whom, as Bonitz already indicated, lines 1071 b 27–28 refer in particular; for Anaxagoras is frequently reported to have taken the view that all things were together, even in the first fragment, to which Ross makes explicit reference.<sup>100</sup>

**1071 b 34 οὐδὲ διὰ τί ὥδι ἢ ὥδι οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν**

The reading οὐδὲ ὥδι οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν found in all the currently known Greek manuscripts being obviously corrupt, editors such as von Christ, Ross and Jaeger have resorted to conjecture. However, since the reading διὰ τί ὥδι, which is attested by pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase and which is recorded as a variant in the 1590 edition of Isaac Casaubonus, finds some support not only in Bessarion's Latin translation, but also in the Arabic version of Ustāth, it deserves to be considered; conjecture is called for only if διὰ τί ὥδι needs to be rejected as well.

It might *prima facie* seem that the words οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν are entirely out of place after οὐδὲ διὰ τί ὥδι, but a look at *Metaph.* A 3 984 a 21, where Aristotle discusses views of his predecessors raising the question διὰ τί τοῦτο συμβαίνει καὶ τί τὸ αἷτιον, or at Λ 10 1075 b 16–17, where Aristotle writes in a similar context ἔτι διὰ τί αἰεὶ ἔσται γένεσις καὶ τί αἷτιον τῆς γενέσεως,<sup>101</sup> shows that this first impression is misleading. If one takes the view that here διὰ τί and αἰτία are used without distinction, as in several other passages,<sup>102</sup> the διὰ τί in 1071 b 34 does not need an additional discussion. However, given that in *Metaph.* A 3 983 a 28–29 Aristotle notes that the ultimate διὰ τί, i.e. not any reason why but only the one arrived at as a final result, is a cause and principle, it is worth examining what the point of such a distinction would be in the present context and whether the reading οὐδὲ διὰ τί ... οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν understood in such a way would still be acceptable.

According to this interpretation some of Aristotle's predecessors, e.g. Leucippus and Plato, who are said to have taken the view that actuality is

<sup>99</sup> Cf. M. Bouyges (ed.), *Averroès: Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat, Notice* (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe V.1), Beirut 1948, p. CLXXIII.

<sup>100</sup> See DK 59 B 1 (= Simp. in *Ph.* 155,23) ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν. Cf. also DK 59 A 1 (= D.L. II. 6), DK 59 A 45 (cf. Simp. in *Ph.* 460, 4–28), Plut. *Moralia* 679 A 1–2, Simp. in *Cael.* 590, 2, Simp. in *Ph.* 163, 8 and Phlp. in *Ph.* 397.20. See further the note ad 1069 b 21–23, *supra*, pp. 120–121.

<sup>101</sup> Further cf. *APo.* 85 b 23–24, b 35–36, 94 a 36–37 or *PA* 639 b 10.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Bonitz, *Index* 177a 50–53.

eternal (inasmuch as they assert that there always is motion), omit *inter alia* to indicate any reason why movement takes place in one way or another and also fail to point out what the ultimate reason (for the movement's being in a certain manner) is. This is not only in agreement with Aristotle's remarks regarding Leucippus and Plato found elsewhere,<sup>103</sup> but also fits well into the context. For on the one hand in the ensuing γάρ clause Aristotle points out that nothing moves at random and that different factors bring about different kinds of motion, subsequently raising the question which one is primary (and next focussing on a principle of motion); on the other in the final part of the chapter Aristotle does not merely mention a reason for the periodical change which he affirms to exist in the Universe, but also traces it back to a first agent. As far as the preceding section is concerned, it should be pointed out that after having briefly discussed in 1071 b 6–10<sup>104</sup> why κίνησις is eternal and which κίνησις is everlasting, i.e. circular locomotion,<sup>105</sup> Aristotle also concisely showed why rotatory motion is chosen (viz. because there is no other continuous κίνησις in the Universe<sup>106</sup>), thereafter concentrating on its principle.<sup>107</sup>

Thus the sequence of words διὰ τί ὥδι which Hermann Bonitz undoubtedly adopted when translating the *Metaphysics*<sup>108</sup> is adequate from the viewpoint of sense.

Pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase attests also a second ὥδι in 1071 b 34, which is not found in the other sources; to have ὥδι twice in this line, reading ὥδι ἢ ὥδί as proposed by Hermann Diels<sup>109</sup> so as to make allowance for various kinds of κίνησις is preferable, not only in view of the preceding passage

<sup>103</sup> Cf. e.g. *Metaph.* A 4 985 b 19–20, *Cael.* III 2 300 b 17–18 and *Pl. Ti.* 30 a.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. the more detailed discussion of this topic found in the eighth book of the *Physics* in whose first chapter Aristotle points out the relevance of that enquiry both for the study of nature and for the investigation of the First Principle, i.e. for physics and metaphysics alike; see especially *Ph.* Θ 1, 251 b 10–252 a 5, where he furnishes a proof based on the eternity of time.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. in contrast to this *Metaph.* A 6 1071 b 33–34: ἀλλὰ διὰ τί καὶ τίνα οὐ λέγουσιν.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *Ph.* Θ 7–9.

<sup>107</sup> See 1071 b 19–20.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *Aristoteles Metaphysik.* Übersetzt von Hermann Bonitz. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Eduard Wellmann, Berlin 1890, 256: "Aber warum dies so ist, und welche Bewegung es ist, warum sich dies so, jenes anders bewegt, davon geben sie keinen Grund an." Unfortunately it is not possible to reconstruct exactly the Greek underlying the posthumous translation (which differs from the passage printed in Bonitz' 1848 edition), but the sequence διὰ τί ὥδι ... ὥδι ... is obvious.

<sup>109</sup> See e.g. Hermann Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker: Griechisch und Deutsch*, Berlin 1903, 361.



where both Leucippus and Plato are mentioned,<sup>110</sup> but also with respect to the period introduced by οὐδὲν γὰρ which starts in 1071 b 34.<sup>111</sup>

1072 a 24–25 τὸ κινούμενον καὶ κινοῦν [καὶ] μέσον, ἔστι τοῖνυν

The text of line a 24 as transmitted by the majority of MSS is corrupt; problematic are the second καὶ and the position of the inferential particle τοῖνυν.<sup>112</sup>

Before focussing on the corrupt sections it is worth surveying briefly the context. After having pointed out that there is a mobile which is perpetually in motion, viz. the celestial sphere, Aristotle deduces that this mobile has a mover,<sup>113</sup> without yet specifying further details. His next step is to infer the existence of something which moves while being unmoved (1072 a 24–25).

The second καὶ is omitted not only in numerous *codices descripti*, but also in the newly discovered MS, which is an independent witness belonging to the β family, as well as in one of the Arabic translations preserved in Averroes' commentary. Furthermore, this καὶ is expunged with the ink of the original scribe in the twelfth-century part of cod. Laur. 87. 12 (A<sup>b</sup>), i.e. in the *vetustissimus* of the branch β, and has been deleted at an early stage in cod. Vind. Phil. 64 (J<sup>a</sup>), given that it is missing in all its descendants.<sup>114</sup>

Jaeger did not athetize this καὶ (though he tacitly omitted it when trying to reconstruct the passage in his apparatus) and suspected a lacuna after μέσον, partly because the particle τοῖνυν precedes the verb ἔστι. Rather oddly, however, even the earliest sources of the indirect tradition are far from providing a firm basis for the assumption that after μέσον a section has dropped out.

Alexander of Aphrodisias for instance says: "If ... we have found something which is mover and moved, intermediary between the first mover and the ultimate moved, and as it were a compound of mover and moved, and

<sup>110</sup> Cf. e.g. DK 67 A 14 ... ταύτας δὲ τὰς ἀτόμους ... φέρεσθαι ἐν τῷ κενῷ καὶ ἐπικαταλαμβάνουσας ἀλλήλας συγκρούεσθαι καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀποπάλλεσθαι ... τὰς δὲ περιπλέκεσθαι ἀλλήλαις (=Simp. in *Cael.* 242, 21–25) and Pl. *Ti.* 30 a.

<sup>111</sup> See 1071 b 34–36 where Aristotle considers various types of κίνησις, raising the question which of them is primary; cf. *Ph.* Θ 7 260 a 23.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. e.g. H. Bonitz, *Observationes criticae in Aristotelis libros metaphysicos*, Berlin 1842, 126.

<sup>113</sup> See 1072 a 23–24 ἔστι τοῖνυν καὶ ὁ κινεῖ. Cf. *Ph.* VII 1, 241 b 34 and VIII 5, 256 a 13–14.

<sup>114</sup> That is to say in codd. Paris. 1861 (c), Salm. M 54 (d), Ambr. L 117 sup. (M<sup>c</sup>), Neap. III D 35 (N<sup>d</sup>), Paris. 1848 (Q<sup>c</sup>), Vat. Reg. 124 (u), Paris. Suppl. 204 (U<sup>c</sup>), Vat. Urb. 48 (V<sup>a</sup>), Vat. 257 (V<sup>c</sup>), Paris. Suppl. 687 (Y<sup>c</sup>).

since the moved can exist separate from the mover (since we find things which are moved without imparting motion), then it is clear that something must exist which imparts motion without being moved at all."<sup>115</sup> The evidence provided by the genuine commentary of Alexander may well reflect the reading ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον καὶ κινεῖν μέσον, ἔστι τοίνυν ... For the reference to the things which are moved without imparting motion does not need to imply that Alexander read in this passage something like κινούμενον καὶ μὴ κινεῖν, given that he refers to common experience and starts commenting these lines by saying "it <sc. the argument> is expressed in a very condensed form as a reminder of what has been said in the last book of the *Physics*."<sup>116</sup>

Themistius does not provide support for assuming a lacuna either; for he elucidates this passage by taking up an explanation given in his paraphrase of the *Physics*.<sup>117</sup> There Aristotle is mentioning three entities (a mobile that does not impart motion, a mobile that imparts motion and an unmoved mover). Themistius is also eventually talking about three such entities;<sup>118</sup> however, this is far from proving that in this passage of the *Metaphysics* Aristotle *expressis verbis* referred to a third entity, viz. to a mobile which does not impart motion. For Themistius may well have supplied the third entity from the passage of the *Physics* to which he is referring back.<sup>119</sup>

It is equally worth noting that in a part of *Physics* Θ posterior to the one mentioned by Jaeger Aristotle points out that a mobile which is moved by another entity but which does not impart motion to anything else is not crucial to a self-moving system.<sup>120</sup>

Furthermore, as far as the vulgate reading τοίνυν ἔστι is concerned, it is of particular interest to note that the Arabic translation of Abū Bishr Mattā uses in 1072a24–25 exactly the sequence of words which renders

<sup>115</sup> See Charles Genequand, *Ibn Rushd's Metaphysics: A Translation with Introduction of Ibn Rushd's Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics Book Lam*, Leyden 1984, 147.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Them. in *Ph.* 223, 1 (ad *Ph.* VIII 5, 256 b 20–24).

<sup>118</sup> "For if there is something which is being moved and at the same time imparts motion and there is something which is being moved only, without imparting motion, then there must be a mover which is unmoved." This is our own translation of the Arabic text found on p. 14, lines 18–19 ed. A. Badawi (*Aristū 'ind al-'Arab*, Cairo 1947); cf. the Hebrew version on p. 16, 13–14 ed. S. Landauer.

<sup>119</sup> Alternatively Themistius may have supplied it from common experience, given that the very notion of μέσον implies opposites. Besides, there is no conclusive evidence in support of the claim that Themistius read μὴ ὄν instead of μέσον (cf. Ross' apparatus *ad locum*).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. *Ph.* VIII 5, 258 a 3–27.

ἔστι τοίνυν in 1072 a 23, which is equivalent to the Latin *est igitur*.<sup>121</sup> The Orientalists Gerhard Endreß, Dimitri Gutas and Rüdiger Arnzen point out this state of affairs in the *Greek and Arabic Lexicon*, where Abū Biṣhr Mattā's version is retranslated as ἔστι τοίνυν τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ.<sup>122</sup> The same word order occurs also in the fragment of a further Arabic translation transmitted by Averroes,<sup>123</sup> which has not yet been discussed at all in the secondary literature. The Arabic text printed in Bouyges' edition is corroborated by Hebrew translations based on meanwhile lost Arabic witnesses.<sup>124</sup>

Thus there is no need to assume a lacuna, and in the light of the new evidence, both Greek and oriental, the section should be read as follows: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον καὶ κινοῦν μέσον, ἔστι τοίνυν τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ.

With regard to the plausibility of ἔστι τοίνυν being transposed such as to become τοίνυν ἔστι we should perhaps recall both that changes of the word order are extremely common in manuscripts (plenty of such cases occur also in the manuscript tradition of *Metaph. Λ*)<sup>125</sup> and that, more importantly, in late antiquity τοίνυν was fairly frequently written at the beginning of cola. There are almost ninety instances of this usage of τοίνυν in Sextus Empiricus.<sup>126</sup> Numerous examples can be adduced also from other authors.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>121</sup> See Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, 1588, 2–3.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. *GALex* 182, 21–22. Even bearing in mind that the Arabic does not always reproduce the word order found in the language from which the translation is made, it seems none the less very plausible to assume that the underlying Greek was ἔστι τοίνυν.

<sup>123</sup> See Averroes, *op. cit.*, 1591, 8–9.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. cod. Vat. Hebr. 336, fol. 192<sup>v</sup>, 9–10, 31 supporting the wording of the Arabic found on p. 1588, 2–3 and 1591, 8–9 ed. Bouyges as well as cod. Vat. Urb. Hebr. 46 fol. 241<sup>r</sup> 4 and 241<sup>v</sup> 14 confirming 1588, 3 and 1591, 8–9 ed. Bouyges. The former manuscript is misleadingly catalogued; as I found out while inspecting it *in situ* it contains inter alia a Hebrew version of Averroes' Great Commentary on *Metaphysics Λ*.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. e.g. 1070 b 14 where cod. Laur. 87. 12 (A<sup>b</sup>) reads ψυχροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ instead of θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ, 1071 a 28–29, where A<sup>b</sup> reads τὸ κινήσαν καὶ τὸ εἶδος instead of τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ κινήσαν or 1071 b 35, where that manuscript reads ἀτεῖ τί instead of τί ἀτεῖ. In 1072 b 32 the manuscripts d, J<sup>a</sup>, M<sup>c</sup>, N<sup>d</sup>, Q<sup>c</sup>, V<sup>a</sup>, V<sup>c</sup>, V<sup>d</sup> and Y<sup>c</sup> read τὸ ἄριστον καὶ κάλλιστον instead of τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον.

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. *M.* 8. 18. 7, 29. 4, 54. 6, 122. 3, 164. 1, 165. 5. In modern editions of Sextus we find τοίνυν not only printed immediately after full stop, but also after colon (e.g. *M.* 8. 99. 7, 139.1, 139. 8.) and comma (e.g. *M.* 7. 284. 1).

<sup>127</sup> Cf. e.g. Them. *in Ph.* 183.14, 234.3, Procl. *in Euc.* 128.8, Origenes *Cels.* P. 4.12, Eus. *h. e.* 2.23.15, Bas. *ep.* 42.2.41, Is. 3.114.3, 5.164.24, Chrys. *coemet.* M. 49.393.24, Is. 5.5.50, Epiph. *haer.* 2.332.22, 2.349.26, 3.100.2, 3.221.13, 3.314.24, 3.315.21, 3.317.23, 3.406.29. Further instances can be found not only in several of these writers but also in the works of Galen, Didymus Caecus, Beatus Theodoretus Cyrrensis, Severianus Gabalensis, Basilii Seleuciensis, Palladius Alexandrinus, St. Ioannes Damascenus, Theophylactus Simocatta and others.

Under such circumstances a transposition may have occurred without being immediately striking to the eye.<sup>128</sup>

The new evidence corroborates the emendation proposed by Hermann Bonitz in his *Observationes criticae* as early as 1842<sup>129</sup> and repeated, as the first of two options, in the apparatus of his edition from 1848.<sup>130</sup> Albert Schwegler endorsed this proposal of Bonitz in his commentary on the *Metaphysics*.<sup>131</sup>

### 1072 b 3 τὸ μὲν ἔστι τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι

The repeatedly occurring indicative of εἶναι (used as main verb) takes up the prepositional phrase ἐν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις.<sup>132</sup>

It should be noted that occasionally τὸ δὲ refers to the first and τὸ μὲν to the second enumerated item.<sup>133</sup> A striking example of this usage of μὲν and δὲ is found in GC II 4 331 b 15–16, where Aristotle asserts that if the cold of water, which in his view is a simple body characterised by coldness and moistness, and the dry of fire, which is dry and hot, have passed away, the hot of the latter (τοῦ μὲν) and the moist of the former (τοῦ δὲ) are left.

Thus there is no need to reject the reading supported by the majority of witnesses in favour of the *lectio facilior* τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἐστὶ κινήτων transmitted by I<sup>b</sup>, b and E, in which τὸ μὲν refers to the first and τὸ δ' to the second mentioned item. The verbal adjective κινήτων renders the passage smoother, but its presence is presumably due to conjecture.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Schwyzer, II, 581, n. 1 “Die Zweitstellung von τοιγάρ (Lucian, aber auch Hippocr.) ist das Gegenstück zur Anfangsstellung von τοίνυν (Koineprosa, Mimus Pap. Ox. III 413, 225). Beides beweist nur die Unsicherheit des Sprachgefühls für diese künstlich belebten Partikeln.”

<sup>129</sup> Cf. H. Bonitz, *Observationes criticae in Aristotelis libros metaphysicos*, Berlin 1842, 125–126.

<sup>130</sup> The other proposal of Bonitz was ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν κινούμενον καὶ μὴ κινεῖν, τὸ δὲ κινούμενον καὶ κινεῖν, καὶ τρίτον τοίνυν ἔστι τι. He made this second proposal in case a longer section dropped out, cf. idem, *Aristotelis Metaphysica*, Pars posterior, Bonn 1849, repr. Hildesheim 1992, 496.

<sup>131</sup> See Albert Schwegler, *Die Metaphysik des Aristoteles* IV, Tübingen 1848, repr. Frankfurt a. M. 1960, 258.

<sup>132</sup> The main verb ἔστι, which accompanies this prepositional phrase in 1072 b 1, is appropriately rendered by J. Barnes as “be found”. Cf. Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, vol. II, Princeton 1984, repr. 1995, 1694.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. rev. by K. J. Dover, Oxford 1950, repr. London 1996, 370–371. However, neither Denniston, who reproduces the passages from Thucydides and Xenophon mentioned in Kühner-Gerth, nor Eucken or Bonitz gives an example of such a usage from the *corpus Aristotelicum*.

## 1072 b 3 δὴ

In his apparatus W. Jaeger does not report the evidence provided by the paraphrase of Themistius, which was not available to nineteenth-century editors. The Latin translation published by S. Landauer does not misrepresent the Hebrew in this section.<sup>134</sup> It should be mentioned that the lection δὴ finds support also in the Arabic version of Themistius' paraphrase.<sup>135</sup> As has been recorded in the apparatus, the particle δὴ occurs not only in A<sup>b</sup>, but also in all the other independent manuscripts of the β family, including the newly discovered witness.

Given the fact that the statement κινεῖ ὡς ἐρώμενον is not a mere continuation of the discussion from 1072 a 26–b 3 but represents its conclusion, the reading δὴ is preferable.<sup>136</sup>

## 1072 b 5–6 ὥστε' εἰ [ἡ] φορὰ πρώτη ἢ ἐνέργειά ἐστιν, ἢ κινεῖται, ταύτη γε

The εἰ after πρώτη adopted by Jaeger finds little support in the tradition (being absent from the β family, from most MSS of the α branch as well as from secondary sources), whilst the εἰ after ὥστε adopted by Ross and Bonitz occurs not only in MSS of both families but also in other witnesses such as Abū Bishr Mattā's version and pseudo-Alexander's quotation.<sup>137</sup> It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the particle εἰ was misleadingly reported by Ross and in 1923 by Jaeger<sup>138</sup> to precede φορὰ in the *vetustissimus*, cod. Vind. Phil. 100, after correction.<sup>139</sup> The examination of the manuscript *in situ* shows that no εἰ is present in the relevant section (f. 187<sup>r</sup> 26), so that the rectification proposed in 1995 by G. Vuillemin-Diem is fully justified.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Cf. CAG vol. V, p. 20.31 (Lat.) and p. 18.14 (Hebr.).

<sup>135</sup> Cf. p. 16.1 ed. A. Badawi.

<sup>136</sup> On δὴ expressing logical connection cf. J. D. Denniston, *op. cit.*, 238.

<sup>137</sup> The εἰ is clearly reflected by this Arabic translation and the Hebrew versions of this Arabic text consulted by Maurice Bouyges do not support a different reading (cf. 1607, 12 ed. Bouyges). The *ut vid.* printed in the apparatus relates to the article which is found in the Arabic, but whose presence in the underlying Greek text cannot be safely inferred.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. W. Jaeger, 'Emendationen zur aristotelischen *Metaphysik*', *Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-histor. Kl.*, Berlin 1923, 265: "... εἰ vor φορὰ fehlte in Π (= E und V), aber in beiden Handschriften ist es von zweiter Hand nachgetragen."

<sup>139</sup> Cf. this opinion reasserted e.g. in A. Laks, *Métaphysique Lambda 7*. Paper read at the XIVth International Symposium Aristotelicum, Oriel College Oxford, 25 August–1 September 1996, Appendix (*Deux notes sur le texte de Lambda 7*) 3. See M. Frede, D. Charles (eds.), *Aristotle's Metaphysics Lambda: Symposium Aristotelicum*, Oxford 2000, 228.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2. *Metaphysica*. Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeke, ed. Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem, Leyden 1995, 325.

On the reading of J and E<sup>1</sup> as it stands Aristotle would be stating *inter alia* that locomotion is actuality inasmuch as it is being changed (ἢ κινεῖται), which is at variance with the view expressed e.g. in *Ph.* V 2, 225 b 15–16 that there cannot be change of change.<sup>141</sup> Jaeger attempted to elude this difficulty and paraphrased κινεῖται as ‘really occurs’,<sup>142</sup> but without mentioning any parallel of this unaccustomed use of κινεῖσθαι.<sup>143</sup> Furthermore, the καὶ in 1072 b 5, which is absent from pseudo-Alexander’s paraphrase, which Bonitz athetized in the year when Albert Schwegler argued in favour of its deletion<sup>144</sup> and which was also obelized by von Christ and Ross, remains very awkward.<sup>145</sup>

There is no need to assume like Jaeger that the reading φορὰ πρώτη ἡ ἐνέργεια ἐστὶν commits Aristotle to the view that, generally speaking, the first ἐνέργεια is φορὰ.<sup>146</sup> For in this section Aristotle is not talking in general terms, but is rather focussing on a particular entity that undergoes κίνησις.<sup>147</sup> Its actuality is the first φορὰ.<sup>148</sup>

The γε conjectured by Bonitz is not without support in the tradition, as has been hitherto assumed by modern scholars; given on the one hand the frequent connection of γε with pronouns in Aristotle’s writings,<sup>149</sup> on the other the scarceness of apodotic δὲ<sup>150</sup> and the need for a limitative particle in this context, Bonitz’ suggestion which has been adopted in all the major later editions deserves to be accepted.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. *APo.* I 36, 48 b 30–31, *Metaph.* K 1068 a 15 and further *Ph.* V 2, 226 a 17–18 (with Ross’ comments *ad locum*) as well as 226 a 20–23.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. W. Jaeger, ‘Emendationen zur aristotelischen *Metaphysik*’, 265: “... insofern sie bewegt wird (d.h. wirklich stattfindet) ...”.

<sup>143</sup> This usage of the verb, in any case, is not recorded in Bonitz’ *Index* s.v.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. A. Schwegler, *Die Metaphysik des Aristoteles* IV, Tübingen 1848, repr. Frankfurt a. M. 1960, 264–265.

<sup>145</sup> From passages which one might invoke as parallels, such as *de An.* III 7 431 a 6, II 5 417 a 16–17, *Ph.* III 2 201 b 31–32 or VIII 5 257 b 8, καὶ is absent.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. W. Jaeger, ‘Emendationen zur aristotelischen *Metaphysik*’, 265: “Aber daß die Ortsbewegung die erste ἐνέργεια sei (so auch Bonitz bereits Übers. S. 258), ist überhaupt kein aristotelischer Gedanke; ist doch das πρῶτον κινεῖν nach Aristoteles »reine Aktualität«, welches jedenfalls vor aller Bewegung ist. Vielmehr ist zu ergänzen ἡ πρώτη τῶν μεταβολῶν (vgl. b 9 φορὰ γὰρ ἡ πρώτη τῶν μεταβολῶν, ταύτης δὲ ἡ κύκλω).”

<sup>147</sup> Cf. the preceding words εἰ μὲν οὖν τι κινεῖται, 1072 b 4.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* Λ 8 1073 a 25 and *Cael.* II 6 288 a 13–15.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. ταύτη γε *GA* IV 1 764 a 20, *Metaph.* Θ 8 1050 a 2, *APo.* I 19 82 a 17, further ἔπεταί γε ταύτη *Protr.* B 26. 2 (p. 38.15 ed. Düring); cf. also e.g. *Ph.* II 4 196 a 28, VIII 5 257 a 12, *Cael.* III 2 301 a 12, *EN* I 10 1100 a 13, X 2 1172 b 26, *Metaph.* A 7 988 b 13, B 4 1000 b 9 or *Pol.* 1285 a 1.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. e.g. R. Eucken, *De Aristotelis dicendi ratione* I, Göttingen 1866, 27–28.

## 1072 b 8 ἐνέργεια

The reading ἐνέργεια found in E as well as in several other independent manuscripts of both families but not reported by the previous editors is preferable; for Aristotle has repeatedly pointed out that the Prime Mover is pure actuality (i.e. not merely in a state of actuality).<sup>151</sup> The subsequent words οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐδαμῶς, which rule out that the Unmoved Mover can be otherwise, also corroborate this reading.

## 1072 b 15 ἐκείνῳ

The dative ἐκείνῳ attested by several hitherto insufficiently explored sources suits the context better than the nominative ἐκεῖνο. Ross tried to make sense of the nominative arguing that “the *primum movens* is described not as having but as being life, because it is pure ἐνέργεια”.<sup>152</sup> However, it is unlikely that Aristotle draws already in 1072 b 15 upon the conclusion reached after a detailed discussion at 1072 b 30. The ensuing words ἐνέργεια τούτου (b 16) rather suggest that at this stage Aristotle is talking in fairly general terms—without touching on more complicated issues, even if some of them have been elucidated earlier in the book.<sup>153</sup> The Prime Mover’s life is thus described in an as yet insufficiently rigorous manner, which nevertheless has the great advantage of being commonly understandable. Also in this case the enquiry has its starting point—according to a well-known principle of Aristotelian methodology<sup>154</sup>—in that which is familiar to us, viz. human happiness. The dative ἐκείνῳ agrees both with the preceding and with the subsequent dative ἡμῖν.

Given the terse style of the passage it is highly improbable that the copula ἐστὶν was repeated at the end of 1072 b 15, so that in this respect the reading of A<sup>b</sup> adopted by Ross and Jaeger is preferable.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Cf. 1071 b 20, 22 and 1072 a 25.

<sup>152</sup> See W. D. Ross, *Aristotle’s Metaphysics: A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. II, Oxford 1924, repr. 1997, 379.

<sup>153</sup> That the *primum movens* not merely *has* an ἐνέργεια but *is* actuality has been pointed out earlier, cf. 1071 b 20, 22 and 1072 a 25.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. e.g. *Ph.* A 1, 184 a 19–20.

<sup>155</sup> Since the corruption of ω into ο is common, being a result of phonetic equivalence, it is not at all difficult to explain how the vulgate reading ἐκεῖνο emerged.

## 1073 a 16 οὐθέν

The reading οὐθέν present in the editions of Bekker, Schwegler, Bonitz, Didot, Ross and Jaeger has no manuscript authority and is not found in the Aldine Aristotle of 1495–1498 either.<sup>156</sup> However, it occurs in the 1823 edition of Christian August Brandis, and this possibly accounts for the fact that it crept into Bekker's text. (By the way, in 1071 b 25 the manuscripts A<sup>b</sup> B<sup>b</sup> C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> T and V<sup>d</sup> agree in supporting the form οὐδέν. In 1071 b 14 the lection οὐθέν is a minority reading present in A<sup>b</sup>, the codices B<sup>b</sup> C E E<sup>b</sup> E<sup>s</sup> H<sup>a</sup> I<sup>b</sup> J<sup>b</sup> L<sup>c</sup> M P<sup>b</sup> T and V<sup>d</sup> equally endorsing οὐδέν.)

Since in the corpus of genuine Aristotelian writings the use of οὐδέν prevails over that of οὐθέν and since also in the *Metaphysics*, where οὐθέν is predominant, οὐδέν is nevertheless found fairly frequently, there is no reason to replace it in this section by the later Attic and *koine* form οὐθέν.

## 1074 a 13 ἐννέα

It is extremely unlikely that Aristotle who made complex observations regarding numbers<sup>157</sup> failed to perform correctly a very basic arithmetical operation in a part of *Metaph.* Λ which has a coherent structure, showing some elaborateness.<sup>158</sup> Equally unlikely is that he failed to take note of his own assertion from 1074 a 7–8 when writing lines 1074 a 13–14.<sup>159</sup>

On the other hand the reading ἐννέα finds support in a branch of the tradition insufficiently explored by previous editors, viz. in the Arabic version of Ustāth, where according to Bouyges' report<sup>160</sup> the numeral nine was

<sup>156</sup> The Aldina of 1552 as well as the editions of Erasmus (Basel 1550), Isaac Casaubonus (Lyon 1590) and Petrus Fonseca (Cologne 1629) also read οὐδέν.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. e.g. *Metaph.* Δ 15, 1020 b 32–1021 a 14. For a survey of the numbers of spheres cf. Erkka Maula, *Studies in Eudoxus' Homocentric Spheres* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 50), Helsinki 1974, 31.

<sup>158</sup> W. Jaeger for instance argued that chapter eight contrasts to the rest of the book through its smooth style and I. Düring also recognizes a certain stylistic unity to the section 1073 b 38–1074 a 38. (Cf. W. Jaeger, *Aristotle*, Oxford 1948, 345 and I. Düring, *Aristoteles: Darstellung und Interpretation seines Denkens*, Heidelberg 1966, 191).

<sup>159</sup> The unsuitability of the reading ἐπτά τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα cannot be argued away on astronomical grounds. Even the suggestion made by J. L. E. Dreyer, viz. that Aristotle might have meant to remove both the sphere accounting for a fictitious inclination of the sun's orbit and its correlated counteracting sphere, has more than one weak point. Cf. Erkka Maula, *op. cit.*, 39, J. L. E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler*, 2nd ed. rev. by W. H. Stahl, New York 1953, 114, n. 2 and W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Metaphysics: A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary II*, Oxford 1924, repr. 1997, 393–394.

<sup>160</sup> See Averroes, *Tafsir ma ba'd at-Tabiat*, ed. M. Bouyges, vol. III (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, sér. arabe VII), Beirut 1948, 1670, n. 61.



written at a later stage by the original scribe. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether this is due to conjecture or not, but even in the affirmative case there still remains Richard Bentley's dictum quoted by Paul Maas, viz. *nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt*.<sup>161</sup>

Thus the reading ἐννέα, which has been adopted by Jonathan Barnes,<sup>162</sup> is preferable.

#### 1074 a 16 καὶ οὐκ αἰσθητὰς

The reading of cod. Ambr. F 113 sup. (M) is, unlike the vulgate, consistent with the context. Given that this section survives in a wide range of sources, including the works of the commentators Themistius and Simplicius, the reading καὶ τὰς αἰσθητὰς is more likely to be an early corruption than an obtuse interpolation, especially since the error involved is a very common one.<sup>163</sup>

There also is no reason to suspect that a genuine reading cannot survive only in M and very few representatives of the indirect tradition; for this MS preserves also elsewhere true readings which are poorly transmitted<sup>164</sup> and shows fewer signs of contamination than its congener C.

The words καὶ οὐκ αἰσθητὰς are not superfluous, since through their presence the clarity of the passage is increased.<sup>165</sup> A similar case is found in the preceding chapter at 1073 a 4–5, where the first οὐσία is described both as ἀκίνητος and as κεχωρισμένη τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

#### 1074 a 22 εἴτε γάρ

Unconsciously or unavowedly influenced by von Christ,<sup>166</sup> Jaeger preferred to reject the reading εἴτε found in all the independent Greek manuscripts. However, for this usage of εἴτε γάρ there are parallels in Aristotle's genuine

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford 1958, 41.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, vol. II, Princeton 1984, repr. 1995, 1697 n. 4.

<sup>163</sup> The error is of the assimilative type; note that the article τὰς occurs thrice in the preceding line (1074 a 15). For further details cf. Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 23–24.

<sup>164</sup> This means that one has to reckon with the same possibility also in other passages, cf. Paul Maas, *op. cit.*, 19.

<sup>165</sup> For in this section Aristotle proceeds from facts that can be ascertained through sense perception, viz. from astronomical phenomena, and makes deductions regarding entities which are not subject to sensory apprehension (and can be grasped only with difficulty).

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Arist. *Metaph.*, ed. W. v. Christ, Leipzig 1895, app. crit. ad locum.

works<sup>167</sup> and thus the text as transmitted is acceptable. Since it is clear that when interpreting this passage a Greek exegete would have been inclined to use εἰ rather than to imitate this uncommon usage of εἴτε, the evidence for the reconstruction of the text provided in this section by pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase should not be overrated.

#### 1074 a 29 ἑτέρως

In this passage Aristotle proves through *reductio ad absurdum* that there are no celestial motions apart from the ones mentioned by him earlier, which serve to explain the revolutions and retrogradations of heavenly bodies. For this purpose he shows *inter alia* that no motion can exist just for the sake of another motion, pointing out that such an assumption leads to an infinite regress. The reading ἑτέρως found in M and supported by the paraphrase of pseudo-Alexander as well as by that of Themistius is preferable; it fits into the context neatly, given, on the one hand, the *regressus ad infinitum* mentioned in 1074 a 29–30 and, on the other, the καὶ preceding in line 1074 a 28.<sup>168</sup>

#### 1074 a 38 συνεχῶς ἐν μόνον

The reading συνεχῶς hitherto adopted by Ross and Jaeger (though not by Bekker, Bonitz, Schwegler and von Christ) is not present in any independent MS apart from A<sup>b</sup>, which does not pertain to the β family in the section 1073 a 1–1076 a 4. On the other hand the lection συνεχῶς ἐν μόνον found in the majority of MSS and supported by the Arabic version of Ustāth is acceptable; put in this way the argument does not lose anything of its soundness, being merely expressed more fully. It should be also mentioned that the sequence ἐν μόνον ... μόνος is not unparalleled in the Aristotelian *corpus*.<sup>169</sup>

#### 1075 a 7 ὥσπερ οὖν

The dashes printed by Ross and Jaeger are misleading *inter alia* because they sharply separate the comparative adverbial clause introduced by ὥσπερ

<sup>167</sup> Cf. GA 759 a 27 and *Metaph.* B 4, 999 a 26. In neither of these cases is the εἴτε γὰρ matched by another εἴτε and in both it is followed, like in our passage, by the indicative.

<sup>168</sup> The vulgate reading ἑτέρου is inferior inasmuch as the context requires the feminine gender; the infinite regress comes about if one motion takes place exclusively for the sake of another motion. An even weaker candidate is the reading ἑτέρων, for one also has to bear in mind that cod. Laur. 87.12 ceases to represent the β family in 1073 a 1, so that the importance of A<sup>b</sup> is considerably lower in this chapter.

<sup>169</sup> See *Top.* 157 a 39, cf. GA 780 b 5. On εἰς ἄρα οὐρανὸς μόνος cf. *Cael.* II 7, 289 a 8–9.

(1075 a 7–8) from the main clause to which it relates as indicated by the correlative adverb οὕτως (1075 a 10).<sup>170</sup>

On the other hand the reading ὥσπερ οὖν, which marks the beginning of a conclusive statement expressed through a self-contained syntactical unit and which does not serve to introduce a merely parenthetical comment after ὅλην (1075 a 7), is in agreement with the context.

Since this section is related to the ἀπορία mentioned in 1075 a 5–6<sup>171</sup> as well as to the directly preceding nominal clause in which Aristotle starts dealing with the question whether the object of the Prime Mover's thought is composite, it is appropriate to punctuate before ὥσπερ in line 1075 a 7 with a colon rather than with a period.

Given that Aristotle repeatedly ends the discussion of an issue through a comparison introduced by ὥσπερ οὖν,<sup>172</sup> this reading, which has a strong support in the tradition (being present in all the available representatives of the β family, in E as well as in pseudo-Alexander's commentary), is preferable.<sup>173</sup>

#### 1075 a 38 ὅτι ἀρχή

The reading ἀρχή found in all the representatives of the β family as well as in the *vetustissimi* of the branch α harmonizes with the context<sup>174</sup> and has a stronger basis in the tradition than the lection ἀρχήν. Jaeger claims that pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase supports the accusative ἀρχήν, but since the commentator rephrased the passage, abandoning the construction with ὅτι

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Kühner-Gerth II, 490–491; on correlated ὥσπερ and οὕτως cf. also Schwyzer II, 668.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. e.g. the reappearance of the adjective σύνθετος in 1075 a 8.

<sup>172</sup> See e.g. *Sens.* 439 b 16, *APo.* 95 b 8, *GA* 728 a 21, *HA* 535 b 30 or *EN* 1175 b 36.

<sup>173</sup> Hermann Bonitz felt the need of a postpositive particle after ὥσπερ, but since Immanuel Bekker, on whose collations he based his edition, had not reported the reading οὖν (the particle is written in abbreviated form and was not recognized even by later editors such as von Christ, Ross and Jaeger), Bonitz adopted γάρ found in pseudo-Alexander's commentary. However, there are no cogent reasons to assume that pseudo-Alexander read γάρ, especially since the lection οὖν survives in 714, 17. It is worth mentioning that in pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase, as indicated in the apparatus, the γάρ from 1075 a 8 for instance is rendered through οὖν (cf. 714. 26 and note the misleading presence of φησιν both here and in 714. 15), which shows once more that this paraphrase cannot be taken to mirror everywhere and in an undistorting manner the Greek text used by the exegete.

As far as the hitherto misread abbreviation of οὖν is concerned, it should be pointed out that it also occurs repeatedly in other codices that transmit the *Metaphysics*, e.g. on fols. 188<sup>r</sup> 23, 190<sup>r</sup> 8, 197<sup>v</sup> 4, 198<sup>v</sup> 4, 201<sup>v</sup> 2, 203<sup>r</sup> 8, 206<sup>v</sup> 1, 209<sup>r</sup> 16 or 212<sup>v</sup> 3 of cod. Vind. Phil. 189 (J<sup>c</sup>). On this abbreviatory sign cf. Grigorij Filimonovič Cereteli, *Sokraščenija v' grečeskich' rukopisjach' preimuščestvenno po datirovannyj rukopisjam' S.-Peterburga i Moskvy*, Saint Petersburg 1904, repr. Hildesheim 1969, plates 8–9.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. the occurrence of the noun ἀρχή at the end of the lines 1075 a 37 and 38.

in favour of an *accusativus cum infinitivo*,<sup>175</sup> his words cannot possibly be taken as safe evidence for the exact wording of the Aristotelian text that he was using. The paraphrase of pseudo-Philoponus on the other hand supports the reading ὅτι ἀρχή.<sup>176</sup>

Since the predicative use of the noun ἀρχή is met with also in other passages of Aristotle's writings where a subordinate clause that lacks the copulative verb is introduced by the conjunction ὅτι,<sup>177</sup> the better-attested reading is preferable.<sup>178</sup>

### 1075 b 19 ἔτι

The reading ὅτι found in all the available manuscripts and adopted by Jaeger is awkward.<sup>179</sup> The fact that pseudo-Alexander's paraphrase reproduces with a slight variation the words ἄλλην ... κυριωτέραν (1075 b 18) after τοῖς τὰ εἶδη (b 19)<sup>180</sup> without reflecting the similar sequence from 1075 b 19 does not demonstrate that the section deleted by von Christ was missing in the text used by the commentator. For the passages ἄλλην ... κυριωτέραν εἶναι (1075 b 18) and ἄλλη ... κυριωτέρα (b 19) strongly resemble each other, so that the paraphrast may have amalgamated them.

On the other hand the ἔτι proposed by Bonitz, which has been adopted by Ross and which has been more recently endorsed by David Sedley, is palaeographically very plausible.<sup>181</sup> One might be tempted to think that in this context ἔτι followed by ἄλλη is redundant, but such a use of this adverb is documented elsewhere,<sup>182</sup> occurring already in the Homeric poems.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Cf. [Alex.Aphr.] in *Metaph.* 718, 6.

<sup>176</sup> On fol. 153<sup>r</sup> 8–9 of cod. Vat. Urb. gr. 49 one can read: ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορείων εἶπον ὅτι ἀρχή τὸ ἀγαθόν.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* Δ 24 1023 a 31, M 8 1084 b 34 or *Ph.* VIII 3 253 b 5.

<sup>178</sup> Since Bekker did not report the reading of cod. Paris. gr. 1853 (E) and simply adopted ἀρχήν found in the Aldina as well as in Brandis' edition, neither Bonitz nor Schwegler knew about the existence of this lection.

<sup>179</sup> The expression μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι from 1069 b 35 and 1070 a 4 mentioned in Jaeger's apparatus does not represent a sufficiently close parallel.

<sup>180</sup> See [Alex.Aphr.] in *Metaph.* 719, 12–13.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. e.g. the third line of Perg. Berol. 13217 (= BKT V ii 73) reproduced in E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, xiv and further David Sedley, *Aristotle, Metaphysics A 10*. Paper read at the XIVth International Symposium Aristotelicum, Oriel College Oxford, 25 August–1 September 1996, 3 n. 3 as well as M. Frede, D. Charles (eds.), *Aristotle's Metaphysics Lambda: Symposium Aristotelicum*, Oxford 2000, 337 n. 16.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. e.g. *Arist. Ph.* IV 5, 212 b 15, *Pl. R.* 497 a, 522 b, *Ti.* 26 e, *Sph.* 261 b or *Ar. Th.* 688.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. e.g. *Il.* E 621, *Z.* 411, *N.* 510 and *Ω* 774.

Bonitz' second proposal, ἔσται, is less attractive; one should not lose sight of the fact that in *Metaph.* Λ the copula is often omitted. Given that in literary papyri as well as in majuscule manuscripts the letters EC and AI were written singly, a corruption of ἔσται into ὅτι is not so likely to have occurred at an early stage of transmission.

### 1075 b 23 ταῦτά

Against von Christ, who following Schwegler and Bekker adopted ταῦτά, Ross, with whom Jaeger agreed, defended the reading ταῦτα (inspired by Bonitz' proposal to read ταῦτά), asserting that "contraries are not potentially the same (though the same is potentially possessed of contrary qualities); nor, if they were, would it be in point to say so here."<sup>184</sup>

With regard to Ross' first claim it has to be pointed out that Aristotle accepts two ways of speaking about contraries as truthful; in *De generatione et corruptione* he states "sometimes we speak of the *substratum* as suffering action (e.g. of the man as being healed, being warmed and chilled, and similarly in all the other cases), but at other times we say what is cold is being warmed, what is sick is being healed: and in both these ways of speaking we express the truth, since in one sense it is the matter, while in another sense it is the contrary, which suffers action."<sup>185</sup> In the light of this passage as well as of *GC* II 7 334 b 20–24, where Aristotle argues that contraries are transformed into one another, the reading ταῦτά, attested by Themistius, is satisfactory. Moreover, since the γάρ clause from lines 1075 b 22–23 serves to corroborate the statement that the First Principle (which has been shown to be unchangeable and the highest good) has no contrary, it conspicuously suits Aristotle to describe contraries in this way and to point out that if the highest good had a contrary it would be liable to change,<sup>186</sup> becoming the most detestable entity.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>184</sup> W. D. Ross, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 404.

<sup>185</sup> *GC* I 324 a 15–22, cf. Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, vol. I, Princeton 1984, repr. 1995, 530.

<sup>186</sup> This is of course irreconcilable with the Aristotelian position, cf. e.g. *Metaph.* Λ 7, 1072 b 7–8 or 9, 1074 b 26–27.

<sup>187</sup> In that case also the other entities would be evil; as one can read in the unpublished Latin scholia of cod. Paris. gr. 1850 (D) "omnia erunt mala" (fol. 77<sup>r</sup> 6–7).

Having overlooked Aristotle's alternative way of speaking about contraries Ross proposed to replace the following words εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον by ἐστὶν ἐναντίου, whereas Jaeger even took the view that the passage is marred by a deep corruption. However, if one bears in mind that Aristotle regards it as fully appropriate to say that contraries are transformed into one another and that he repeatedly uses the sequence of words εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον when discussing contraries, one can see that the text as transmitted is acceptable.

## 1075 b 23–24 ἡ δὲ ἐναντία ἄγνοια εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον

With the exception of Jaeger, who reads ταῦτα in the first part of line 1075 b 23 and marks this passage as *locus desperatus*, all the modern editors have printed this section as transmitted.<sup>188</sup>

Given the words τὰ ἐναντία and ὅλη as well as the concept of δύναμις mentioned slightly earlier (1075 b 22–23), one can easily see that Aristotle touches upon the topic of change.<sup>189</sup>

Since in the Aristotelian *corpus* various kinds of ignorance<sup>190</sup> as well as various sciences are distinguished, ἐπιστήμη and ἄγνοια being contraries,<sup>191</sup> it makes sense to speak of ἐναντία ἄγνοια, i.e. of the privation relating to a certain science.

It has been *inter alia* suggested that Aristotle left the verb πίπτει unexpressed after ἄγνοια.<sup>192</sup> However, if one looks at passages where Aristotle describes the transition from ἄγνοια to ἐπιστήμη<sup>193</sup> bearing in mind the remark from *GC* I 324 a 15–22 discussed in the previous critical note, one can see that a verb like μεταβάλλειν is in this respect preferable.<sup>194</sup>

If one reads the transmitted text in this way it indicates that the ignorance which is contrary changes into its contrary, i.e. into the science it is the contrary of. Aristotle subsequently reminds the reader that what is primary has no contrary whatsoever,<sup>195</sup> which implies that an ignorance opposed to the highest knowledge cannot possibly exist.

## 1075 b 24 ἔτι εἰ

The period which starts in 1075 b 24 is more closely linked to the ensuing one (1075 b 27–28) than to the preceding section, which ends with a description

<sup>188</sup> On the standpoints of Jaeger and Ross cf. the preceding critical note.

<sup>189</sup> It should be mentioned that the words εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον repeatedly occur in such a context, cf. *Cael.* I 4 271 a 21–22, II 13 295 b 15, *Cat.* 14, 15 b 4–5, b 9, b 11, b 14, *Ph.* V 6 229 b 30 and *Poet.* 11, 1452 a 22–23.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. e.g. *APo.* I 16 79 b 23–24, *EN* VII 2 1145 b 29, *SE* I 4 166 b 24 or I 6 168 b 15–16.

<sup>191</sup> See e.g. *APr.* I 34 48 a 19–20, II 21 66 b 26, *APo.* I 12 77 b 17–18, *Cat.* 7, 6 b 16–17, *Top.* II 7 113 b 4–5 or II 9 114 b 8–9.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. A. Schwegler, *Die Metaphysik des Aristoteles: Grundtext, Übersetzung und Kommentar* IV, Tübingen 1848, repr. Frankfurt a. M. 1960, 293: ἡ δὲ ἐναντία ἄγνοια, εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον (sc. πίπτει).

<sup>193</sup> Cf. e.g. *Ph.* V 2 225 b 32–33 ἐκεῖνο μεταβάλλει ὅτε μὲν εἰς ἐπιστήμην ὅτε δ' εἰς ἄγνοιαν, further *Metaph.* K 12 1068 a 32–33 and *Poet.* 11, 1452 a 29–32.

<sup>194</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that in *Cat.* 14, 15 b 4–5, b 9, b 11, b 14 and *Poet.* 11, 1452 a 22–23 Aristotle links the words εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον to the noun of verbal origin μεταβολή.

<sup>195</sup> For the background of the discussion cf. also *Metaph.* Θ 10 1051 b 25–28.

of the Aristotelian stance. For in both of these periods Aristotle points out serious difficulties which have to be faced by people who endorse views that differ from his own. Given that εἴ τε, unlike ἔτι εἰ, denotes a rather close connection,<sup>196</sup> the reading of the β family, which finds support both in the Greek commentaries and in the Latin translations, is superior.

#### 1076 a 4 ἔστω

Jaeger misleadingly argued that this imperative occurs only in cod. Paris. gr. 1853 (E), where it is added by a later hand. However, it appears in the first hand in several manuscripts, two of which are independent.

Additionally this reading<sup>197</sup> finds support in the indirect tradition, being quoted by a number of authors from late antiquity.<sup>198</sup> Since, moreover, the verse does not scan without the verb ἔστω at the end, this lection is preferable.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* 1002 b 4, *APo.* 72 b 11, 98 b 2, *EN* 1169 b 10, *GA* 758 a 3, *Int.* 22 b 30, *Ph.* 242 b 49, *Pol.* 1324 a 12, *SE* 170 a 38, *Top.* 112 b 7, 153 b 32, 154 b 5, 154 b 22 and J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. rev. by K. J. Dover, Oxford 1950, repr. London 1996, 496.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Hom. *Ilias*, B 204. Upon this Homeric verse Aristotle draws elsewhere as well, see *Pol.* IV 4, 1292 a 13–15: "Ὅμηρος δὲ ποῖαν λέγει οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πολυκοιρανίην, πότερον ταύτην ἢ ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες ὡς ἕκαστος, ἀδηλον.

<sup>198</sup> See Proclus, In *Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, ed. E. Diehl, vol. 1, Lipsiae 1903, p. 262, 17, Olympiodorus, In *Platonis Gorgiam commentaria*, 42, 2, ed. L. G. Westerink, Lipsiae 1970, p. 221, 9, *Prolegomena et in Categorias commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, Berolini 1902 (*CAG* XII.1), p. 9, 22, Asclepius, In *Aristotelis Metaphysicorum libros A-Z commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, Berolini 1888 (*CAG* VI. 2), p. 244, 2–3 et Ioannes Philoponus, *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, ed. H. Rabe, Lipsiae 1899, p. 88, 19–20 and p. 179, 21. Cf. P. Moraux, 'Anecdota Graeca Minora I: Anonyme Einleitung zu Aristoteles' *Metaphysik*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 40, 1980, 69, l. 99. Theophrastus also quotes ll. 2. 204 in full, but in a different context (cf. *Char.* 26.2). See further L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès, M. Jugie (eds.), *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios publiées pour la première fois*, vol. IV, Paris 1935, 44 and, incidentally, U. Criscuolo (ed.), *Michele Psello: Epistola a Michele Cerulario*, Naples 1990, p. 30, 232.





## APPENDIX



AN AMPLY ANNOTATED HUMANISTIC TRANSLATION OF  
*METAPHYSICS* LAMBDA UNDULY FALLEN INTO OBLIVION\*

The miscellaneous manuscript volume Ambrosianus D 465 inf., whose twentieth-century binding measures ca 355 × 250 mm, comprises numerous pamphlets of different sizes, written in several European languages. On fols. 95<sup>r</sup>–106<sup>r</sup> it contains a Latin translation of *Metaph.* A followed by notes (fols. 107<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>v</sup>), which has not received hitherto any attention from modern editors. This MS is inaccurately catalogued; in the *Catalogo dei codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* for instance fols. 95<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>v</sup> are not even mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The Latin version and the accompanying notes are written in a cursive humanistic hand that uses abbreviations fairly frequently. In the left upper corner of fol. 95<sup>r</sup> the following words, written in a different hand, are still legible, although a great part of the ink has flaked away: “Aristotelis metaphisica 12. Fabii Nifi.” The *Indice biografico italiano* provides some information regarding an Italian humanist called Fabius Niphus, born in the first half of the sixteenth century. He was professor of philosophy as well as of medicine and grandson of the famous Aristotelian scholar Augustinus Niphus (c. 1470–1538).<sup>2</sup>

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\* Since this piece of evidence came to light only in the final stages of the research related to the present book, the preliminary remarks are brisk, time forbidding an extensive treatment of the additional source. That a transcription has been made notwithstanding the circumstances is due on the one hand to the precarious state of the MS and on the other to e.g. Martin West's remarks regarding the importance of translations for editorial purposes (cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 10 and further G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence 1952, repr. 1988, 46–49 on the usefulness of Renaissance collations). It should be noted that in this section the accentuation of the Greek words has been chiefly reproduced from the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Rivolta, *Catalogo dei codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana*, Milan 1933, 228–229.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Indice biografico italiano* compiled by T. Nappo and P. Noto, vol. III, Munich 1993, 1001. In the accompanying *Archivio biografico italiano* issued in microfiche format one can read inter alia with regard to Fabius Niphus: “NIFO (Fabio), nipote del precedente (sc. di Agostino Nifo) e figliuolo di Giacomo cui Agostino suo padre avea nel 1531 dedicato il libro *De Divitiis*. Fu dotto ed eloquente, ma di spirito inquieto e torbido. Insegnò filosofia in Francia e nella Italia, a Padova poi nel 1575 fu prescelto a succedere a Niccolò Curzio nella cattedra di medicina. Alcuni mesi dappoi fu cacciato in carcere per sospetto di luteranismo ed avuto mezzo di evadere dalla prigione fuggì a Vienna in Austria, passò in Inghilterra, poi in Olanda sempre bersagliato da avversa fortuna. Naudè crede che per sfuggire le persecuzioni si ritirasse ne' Paesi Bassi spagnuoli, dove abiurando il calvinismo menasse moglie da cui ebbe un figliuolo per nome Ferdinando. Scrisse: I° *Proaemium Mathematicum*, Parigi, 1569, 2° *Ophimus, seu de coelesti animarum progenie Dialogus*, Leida, 1599 ...” (F 702, 244). On Fabius Niphus' philosophical dialogue regarding the celestial descent of the human souls cf. *infra*, fn. 4, p. 181.

Unfortunately the MS is damaged and its condition is deteriorating further due to the chemical action of acid ink. In the present appendix an attempt is being made to cast some light upon this witness; obscure sections are indicated by asterisks, one asterisk normally representing an individual word.<sup>3</sup>

⟨I⟩

De substantia disputatio est instituta, substantiarum enim initia et causae pervestigantur. Etenim sive universum mundum omnia complexu suo coercentem quasi naturam aliquam suis partibus temperatum spectemus, inter has partes substantia principem gradum obtinet, sive in hac rerum universitate, omnia inter se disposita et deinceps collocata existant, in hac etiam rerum dispositione substantia prima erit, deinde quale et quantum. quin etiam nihil eorum, quae praeter substantiam sunt, entis vocabulo proprie nominari potest, sed motus, et qualitates, quae ad substantiam necessario adhaerescunt. An vero perinde se habent ac non album, non rectum. quare haec sermone usurpantur, atque esse dicuntur, perinde ac cum dicimus esse non album. Praeterea caeterarum rerum nil praeter substantiam separari potest. Iam vero qui primo philosophati sunt, re factisque haec probarunt. Initia enim causas et elementa de quibus substantiae creantur vestigarunt. Et quidem qui hac aetate philosophantur universalia ampliores substantias ponunt. Universalia enim sunt, quae cunctarum rerum exordia et antiquiores substantias esse asseverant, ad id quidem sentiendum inducti, quod leviter et logice ad haec considerata accesserint. Veteres autem quae singulatim sensum movent, ceu ignem, terram, at non corpus commune. Substantia autem triplex est. una earum quae sensibus subiiciuntur, cuius mortalis una, de qua nemo unquam addubitavit, cuiusmodi sunt animalia, et quae gignuntur e terra, altera sempiterna, cuius initia sive plura sint, sive unum, indagare necesse est. Tertia autem immobilis, qualem separari posse putant aliqui, eam vero alii in duas naturas partiuntur, alii in unam naturam, formas et mathematica referunt, alii mathematica solum relinquunt. Priorres quidem illae duae in naturali scientia tractantur, motu enim agitantur, haec postrema ad aliam scientiam spectat, si nullum plane utrisque initium sit commune.

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<sup>3</sup> This transcription attempts to reproduce the text *post correctionem* (e.g. *corruperunt* instead of *corrumperunt* on fol. 110<sup>r</sup> 29, the correction having been made by the same hand).

## ⟨II⟩

Quae autem sentitur substantia, est mutabilis. Iam vero si mutatio ex oppositis aut mediis naturis efficitur, opposita vero non quaevis intelligo (vox enim est non alba) sed adversa, necesse est tertiam naturam existere, quae in adversa mutetur, neque enim adversa in se ipsa ad invicem mutari possunt. et quidem aliquid plane manet, quod autem adversatur, interit. tertia igitur natura est praeter adversa, quae materia dicitur. At vero si mutatio quadripartito distribuitur, aut enim in substantia versatur, aut ad qualitatem pertinet, aut quantitatis est, aut in loco cernitur, et generatio simplex et interitus fiant in substantia, accretio autem et imminutio in quantitate, alteratio autem in affectione, latio vero in loco, quaeque plane mutatio in adversa efficitur, quare necesse est materiam in adversa mutari, cum sua natura nullo eorum sit praedita, sed utrumque recipiendi habeat facultatem. Cum autem rerum omnium ordo duplex sit, cuncta ex rebus quae potestate sunt mutantur in ea quae sunt actu, ceu cum corpus albore vacet, eo vero affici possit actu, deinde albore afficitur, eodemque modo in accretione et diminutione res cernitur. idcirco non tantum de nihilo ex accedenti, sed etiam ex re aliqua cuncta gignuntur, fiunt enim ex materia, quae facultate res est, actu nihil est. atque illud unum Anaxagorae haec materia est, quae sapientius constituitur, quam omnia in unum fuisse confusa, atque Empedoclis et Anaximandri chaos, rerumque illa confusio haec materia est, et quemadmodum ait Democritus omnia in materiae facultate, non autem actu simul fuere. quare omnes materiam, sed obscure, attigere. Iam vero cuncta quae mutationi subiiciuntur materiam habent, at non quamcunque. sempiterna neque ortum, neque interitum sentiunt, locum autem evertunt omnino aliam at non nativam habent materiam, sed talem quae unam loci mutationem patiatur. At vero quaerit aliquis quod non ens sit, de quo rerum generatio efficitur. Tria enim dicuntur non esse. si aliquid igitur facultate fuerit, de eo quod non est fieri potest generatio, attamen non ex quolibet sed aliud ex alio oritur. neque vero ex eo satis haec explicari possunt, quod in unum chaos simul congesta sint omnia, quippe cum in materia res differunt, unde enim tanta rerum varietas et innumerabilis multitudo exorta? cur non est una cunctarum rerum facies et natura? una enim mens est, quod si una quoque materia, illud efficietur actu ad quod efficiendum materia erat accommodata. Tres ergo sunt causae, tria initia de quibus sensibiles substantiae creantur: duo quidem sunt inter se contraria, scilicet ratio, seu forma, et privatio, tertium materia nominatur.

## (III)

His explicatis illud sciri oportet, neque materiam neque formam creari, dico tantum eas, quibus nulla vel materia vel forma est antiquior. In omni enim mutatione aliquid mutatur, et ab aliquo id fit, et in aliquid immutatur. Dico autem ab aliquo, vim, causamque efficiendi primam, cuius autem est mutatio materiam, effectiois autem finem, formam intelligo. Innumerabilis ergo erit harum rerum series, si non solum aheneum fieri tereti figura, verum etiam teretem figuram, aut ahenum opus sit gigni. certus ergo harum rerum terminus sit necesse est. Deinde scire oportet omnem substantiam ex causa quae sit eiusdem nominis et rationis oriri. quippe cum tum quae natura constant substantiae – de homine enim homo progeneratur –, tum reliqua omnia causis suis similia gignuntur, aut enim arte, aut natura, aut fortuna, aut casu oriuntur. artis autem et naturae haec distinctio est, quod ars in externo adest vis et initium efficiendi, natura autem intus inclusa est. reliquae vero causae, casum dico et fortunam, potius naturae potius et artis errores sunt. Iam vero substantiarum tres sunt partes, una est materia quae, si ad oculos referatur, hoc aliquid est. cuncta enim quae commissa, non autem natura cognata sunt, ad materiam et rem subiectam pertinent, ceu ignis, caro, caput. cuncta enim ad materiam videntur spectare, quae eius substantiae propria est, qua maxima atque amplior dicitur. altera autem natura et essentia quae generationis est finis. tertia vero ex utrisque conflatur, cuiusmodi sunt singularia. nonnullae vero formae per se sine compositis substantiisque existere non possunt, qualis est forma domus (nisi ea aedificandae domus ars dicatur) neque vero quae sunt huius generis ortum aut occasum habent. Verum alia ratione domus quae vacat materia, tum sanitas, tum cuncta quae ad artis rationem pertinent esse, aut non esse dicantur. At vero si ullae usquam consistent ideae, nimirum ad res naturae spectant. quare non male Plato credit, iis tantum, quae natura constant, formas assignandas, si tamen ullae usquam sint formae aliae ab istis, quae oculis videntur. Et quidem causae quae vim habent movendi, quasi prius in vitam introierint, iis rebus quas efficiunt sunt antiquiores, at vero haec causae, quae ut ratio dici solent aequales sunt. tunc enim existit bona valetudo, cum bene valere ceperit homo, itemque figura aenei globi tum consistit, cum aeneus globus efficitur. Utrum vero ulla forma sit, quae dissolutis iis in quibus inhaeret, maneat videndum est. nihil enim o(b)stat, quin aliqua supersit, ceu si talis sit animus, neque omnis ille quidem, sed mens sola. fortasse enim omnem animi partem superesse nullo modo fieri potest, ex quibus compertum est nihil causae esse, cur harum rerum gratia ideae existant, de homine enim homo creatur et de singulis singuli.

7 ahenum *cod. Ambrosianus D 465 inf.* (f. 96<sup>r</sup>, 18), at aes *legendum esse arbitror*

Artium quoque eadem ratio est: bonae enim valetudinis ratio ars ipsa est medica.

(IV)

At vero causae et initia de quibus creata sunt omnia partim sunt eadem, partim non eadem. eadem quidem omnium videntur, si quis universe et similitudine eadem ponat. Perobscura enim quaestio est, utrum substantiae et sub eandem rationem cadentia, itemque generatim singulae categoriae eadem habeant primordia et elementa de quibus fiunt. Verum interea si de quibus cuncta oriuntur sunt eadem, aliquod fiet incommodum, eisdem enim seminibus substantiae et sub eandem rationem cadentia crearentur, cuiusmodi ergo haec semina erunt? quippe cum nihil sine substantia, aut iis quae in illa adhaerescunt prius aut antiquius existere potest. Aggrediuntur vero elementa et priora sunt illis, quae de eis refecta consistunt. neque vero substantiae unde sub eandem rationem cadentia, aut haec unde substantiae conficiantur semina esse possunt. Iam quidem quomodo eadem omnium elementa queunt esse? nunquam enim elementa et quae ex eis temperata et constituta sunt, possunt esse eadem, ceu syllaba ba, et b et a elementa. neque vero quae animo videntur elementa, ceu ens et unum, eadem esse possunt de quibus cuncta gignantur, haec enim in omnibus generatim insunt, quae de eis refecta consistunt. Quocirca neque substantiae neque sub eandem rationem cadentia erunt ens, aut unum. Primordia enim differre ab iis, quae de iis gignuntur necesse est. At necessitas cogit. Non ergo rerum omnium eadem sunt elementa. An uti dicimus partim sunt eadem, partim non eadem? Veluti corporum quae sensibus subiiciuntur forma fortasse vis caloris est, privatio vero, quae alia causa est, frigoris natura, materia vero quae recipiendi haec primum, et per se habet facultatem. Et quidem tum haec quae mortalium rerum initia constituimus, tum ea quae ex iis temperata consistunt, sunt substantiae, aut si quae alia ex vi caloris et frigoris in unam naturam sint coagmentata, ceu carnes, vel ossa. primordia ergo atque elementa de quibus haec creantur eadem sunt, alia vero de quibus alia. huiusmodi autem rerum omnium eadem primordia dici non possunt, sed similitudine et proportionem, ceu si quis dicat rerum primordia esse tria, formam unam, alteram privationem, materiam tertiam. sed harum rerum longe dissimilis est ratio, in quaque rerum institutione, ceu in coloribus, albor, atror, extremitas, lux, tenebrae, aer, de quibus dierum et noctium vicissitudo efficitur. At vero cum non insitae tantum, sed etiam quae non inhaerent causae dicantur, ceu causa quae vim habet movendi,

perspicue efficitur principia ab elementis differre. Et quidem causae notatio utraque complectitur, atque in haec tribuitur. Iam vero causae unde motus profluit et vim efficiendi habent ad alterum primordiorum et substantiarum genus referuntur. At vero dissimiles causae sunt, et illae ex quibus primum dissimilia cientur, cunctarum igitur rerum elementa proportionem sunt tria, causae vero et primordia quatuor, sed sua cuique propria, veluti bona valetudo, morbus, corpus, scientia medicinae, causa efficiens; forma, talis confusio, lateres, res efficiens aedium aedificandarum ratio, et in haec ipsa principii notio secatur. Iam vero cum in physicis homo hominem progeneret, in artificiosis vero forma aut contrarium efficiendi vim habent, constat causas rerum partim in tria genera, partim in quatuor partiri. bona enim valetudo quodammodo medicinae scientia, et aedium species esse videtur aedium aedificandarum ratio, ex homine homo progignitur. At vero alia causa atque ab iis dissimilis existit, quae rerum omnium principatum obtinet, rerumque universitatem ciet.

⟨V⟩

Et quidem cum rerum aliae separari possint, aliae non possint et priore genere substantiae contineantur, efficitur substantias esse rerum omnium causas. affectiones enim motusque nisi ad substantiarum naturam adhaerescant consistere non possunt. Enimvero animus fortasse et corpus et quod ex utrisque temperatum est, aut mens, appetitio, si haec ab illa divelli potest, et corpus, initia sunt de quibus substantiae creantur. At enim alia via rerum primordia proportione sunt eadem veluti si actum et voluntatem initia constituamus ita tamen ut haec alia, et dissimilia aliis et dissimilibus rebus assignentur, et alio modo. Sunt enim nonnulla rerum genera quae interdum actu, interdum facultate spectantur, ceu vinum caro et homo. Verum interea haec duo ad eas, quas supra explicavimus, causas referri possunt. forma enim actu est, privatio vero ceu tenebrae et quae sunt infirma valetudine, materia autem facultate cernitur, haec enim utriusque faciem et naturam potest assumere. quae vero neque eadem materia temperata sunt neque eadem sed dissimili forma praedita alio plane modo actu et facultate differunt, exempli gratia hominis causa est ignis, terra, caeteraque elementa, atque haec causa materia dicitur, forma vero animus et si quid aliud externum est ut pater, est praeterea sol atque obliquus globus, quae duo neque materia neque forma neque privatio sunt, neque eadem natura continentur, sed causa unde motus proficiscitur. Iam vero sciendum est nonnulla universe posse, alia non posse, primordia vero unde cuncta oriuntur sunt



singulorum propria atque accommodata, quorum nonnulla ad actum, nonnulla ad facultatem spectant. quae vero universe et communiter dicuntur non existunt, singula enim et quae sub sensum cadunt de singulis principiis, quaeve sub sensum cadunt oriuntur, homo enim sub speciei ratione ex communi homine gigni dicitur, sed nullus plane ita consistit, at Peleus Achillem progignit et pater tuus te, etiam isthaec elementa b et a complexionem hanc ba, at vero b et a communiter et in universum assumpta ba universam complexionem conficiunt. Caeterum substantiarum formae sunt causae et elementa, sed sua cuiusque propria, ut dictum est supra, neque enim tantum primordia ex quibus ea fiunt quae genere inter se dissident, sunt alia et non eadem, ceu colores, soni, magnitudines ac substantiae (nisi quis eadem proportionem dicat) verum etiam quae specie sese attingunt, et si iisdem specie primordiis constituta sint, tamen numero singulatim distinguuntur, alia enim materia tua est alia forma, et vis movens, alia mea, communi vero ratione eadem esse possunt. Enimvero quaestio utrum substantiarum et sub eadem rationem cadentium, et qualitatum eadem sint an diversa initia et elementa facile explicari potest, dicendum enim est eadem esse rerum omnium primordia si communiter et universe sumantur, sin autem singulorum propria spectentur non eadem sed diversa. Quare hac una via eadem omnium initia esse possunt, verum est alia via, proportionem intelligo, quia scilicet de materia, forma, privatione et efficiendi causa cuncta creantur. Item substantiarum causae rerum omnium sunt causae, quod si tollantur cuncta e medio tolluntur. Iam vero quod principem tenet locum perfectione continetur sua. Quae igitur rerum sub sensum cadentium primordia, et quot numero sint, et quo esse pacto eadem vel non eadem, sed diversa, satis est dictum.

(VI)

At vero cum substantiarum tres sint partes, et duae quidem natura constent, una vero omnis motionis expers sit, de hac deinceps nobis habenda erit ratio, quod necesse sit sempiternam aliquam substantiam motu vacantem existere. Substantiae enim omnium rerum genera antecedunt, et quidem si omnes mortalem acceperunt conditionem, sequitur cuncta mortalia esse. Verum interea fieri non potest motum aut oriri aut occidere, sempiternum enim aevi curriculum nactus est, neque tempus ortum aut occasum habet, prius enim et posterius nullo modo esse potest, si tempus non consistat, quamobrem motus perennis est, perinde ac tempus, quippe cum aut unum omnino sunt, aut in motu insitum est tempus. Caeterum non omnis motus

est perennis, sed qui ad locum pertinet, atque ex hoc genere qui in orbem convertitur. Verum interea si natura aliqua, quae movendi et efficiendi vim habeat, existat, nihil tamen agat, nihil moliatur, omnis motus tollitur. accidere enim solet, ut quae vim efficiendi habent, nihil efficiant. sempiternas igitur naturas si ita constituamus, ceu ii qui formas et ideas effinxerunt, nihil efficere poterimus nisi aliqua princeps natura sit, quae habeat vim movendi; neque igitur harum substantiarum genus, neque si ullae diversae substantiae ab ideis concedantur satis esse putandum est, nam si nihil agant, motus extinguetur. Iam vero si aliquid opus habeat ab earum autem natura non omnis facultas semota sit, perennis non erit motus. omnis enim natura, quae potest esse potest non esse, quamobrem tale principium esse necessarium est, cuius actio atque opus sit eius natura. Item oportet tales naturas ab omni materia semotas esse, immortales enim et sempiternas existere necesse est, si quidem quicquam aliud sempiterno tempore consistat; in actu ergo. Sed quaestio est, omnis enim natura quae aliquid efficit, facultatem habuisse videtur, quae vero facultatem habent, eas omnes vim exercere non est necesse. quare efficitur facultatem esse antiquiorem. quo constituto nihil omnino existet; accidere enim potest, ut cuncta facultate sint, nihil tamen eorum actu adhuc existat. At vero si theologorum sententia conceditur, qui de nocte cuncta efficiunt, aut naturalium, qui omnia in unum chaos simul fuisse commemorant, eadem absurda sequuntur. quomodo enim fieri potest ut materia mutetur, si nulla causa est actu? neque enim materia ipsa se ipsam mutabit, sed faber, neque sanguis menstruus neque terra sed semina. idcirco nonnulli ut Leucippus et Plato perpetuum actum adduxere, semper enim motum fuisse asseverant. at quam ob causam et cuius generis existat, nihil meminerunt, itemque cur illo modo et quae sit causa; nihil fortuito cietur, sed aliquid semper pr(a)esto est, veluti haec natura movetur, illae vi, aut si mente vel ab alio aliquo motionis genere. deinde qualisnam princeps? refert enim plurimum. caeterum neque quod ipsum a se ipso movetur, unde motum creari interdum Plato arbitratur, afferre pro se potest, posterior enim est animus atque una cum caelo (ut ait) eius nativitas est. At vero facultatem actu antiquiorem partim non recte, partim recte dici potest, quo vero modo dictum est. actum \* \* confirmat Anaxagoras, mens enim est actus, et Empedocles, qui concordiam et discordiam induxit, et qui sempiternum motum statuunt, ut Leucippus. quamobrem neque ad infinitum tempus chaos aut nox extiterant, sed aut conversione aut alio modo eadem semper vel alio, si actus potestate prior sit. Si igitur conversione semper eadem esse ponantur, necesse est naturam aliquam semper manere, quae eodem modo cuncta cieat. sin vero rerum ortus atque occasus sit futurus, necesse est aliquam naturam esse, quae in actionum varietate

versetur: quibus concessis necessario sequitur, partim quidem sua vi ac per se agere, partim alieno impulsu. Utrum ergo cuiusquam ulterius, an primi impulsu? at vero primi impulsu necesse est, quippe cum id ipsum rursus causa est, ut utrumque operetur. praestat igitur primum existere. Etenim ut semper eodem modo se habeat ex illo efficitur, ut autem in varietate sit constitutum, ex alio, ut autem semper et perpetua varietate consistat ex utroque fit. Iam ergo si optimae lationes ad hunc modum sunt affectae, alia primordia indagare, quae necessitas cogit?

(VII)

At vero cum ita res esse possit, et nisi ita se habeat de nocte aut de chaos aut de nihilo cuncta fiant, sequitur ut quae mox quaerebamus dissolvi possint, tum etiam naturam aliquam existere quae irrequieto agitetur motu, is autem est, qui in orbem incitatur. Id autem ita esse remota subtilitate disputandi oculis licet contemplari, quocirca primi caeli globus sempiternus est. ergo est etiam natura aliqua, quae vim movendi habet, et quidem, cum id quod movetur et quod vim movendi habet media natura existat atque id quod movetur tantum, sequitur aliam naturam esse, quae cum aliunde incitari non possit, cuncta vi sua cieat, cum sempiterna et substantia et actus existat. At enim quae appétitionem incitant hoc modo movent, et quae intelliguntur, caeteris quidem afferunt motum, ipsae pulsu alieno non cientur. Inter haec vero \* \* \* \* sunt inter se \* \* \* \* gestientem impellant, boni speciem \* quae vero primum sub voluntatem cadunt, vera sunt bona. Iam magis ad appetendum aliquid impellimur quia mente id comprehendimus, quam ad aliquid intelligendum ab appétitione incitamur. Intelligentia enim est initium. mens autem ab iis quae intelliguntur movetur, quae vero animo et mente videntur, alia quidem in eorum serie collocantur, quae sua natura intelliguntur, atque ex hoc ordine substantiae sunt primae, inter quas, quae simplicitate et actu continentur, antecedunt. Verum interea unius et simplicis notio non una est, unitas enim mensuram notat, simplicitas vero rei modum et constitutionem. At enim pulcrum et quod per se expetendum est, in una et eadem serie constituta, atque naturae cognitione se attingere videtur, atque semper optimum, vel quod optimo proportionem respondeat, illud est quod summum obtinet gradum. Et quidem in iis naturis, quae omni motu vacant, finis rationem spectari, ipsa divisio docet. finis enim ratio in nonnullis cernitur, in quibus partim existit, partim non existit. Ergo cuncta ciet princeps illa natura, perinde atque ea, quae deperimus trahunt. quod vero huius pulsu cietur caeteris motum affert. Si igitur natura ulla cietur,

in varietate esse potest, iam ergo etsi prima latio, actus existit tantum, qua circumvehitur; huius esse varietas et vicissitudo potest, non ea quae ad naturam, sed quae ad locum spectat. Iam vero cum natura aliqua existat, quae vim movendi habeat, et aliunde agitari non possit, ea varietatem ullam pati nullo modo potest, mutatio enim quae fit in loco omnium mutabilitatum est antiquissima; in hoc autem genere, quae in orbem incitatur. Verum interea isthaec mutabilitas ab ea profluit, ergo natura Dei necessitate continetur. Optimo vero atque amplissimo modo in eum cadit necessitas, atque ita est initium, necessitatis vero notio tot modis usurpatur: partim enim significat vim, quae naturae impulsui adversatur, partim id sine quo res non bene fieri possunt, partim quod in nulla unquam varietate constitutum est, sed eodem semper modo est affectum. ex tali ergo initio caelum et omnis haec naturae moles pendet. Caeterum vitae ratio est qualis optima nobis brevi temporis momento existit. ad sempiternum enim tempus Deus ille hunc vitae modum tenet, qualis nobis accidere non potest. quo circa eius voluptas et delectatio in eius actione sentitur, atque ea propter vigilia, sensus et intelligentia maximam habent delectationem, spes vero et memoria si quid afferunt iucunditatis, ex iis mutuuntur. Iam vero, quae per se est cogitatio et intelligentia, in ea natura existit, quae per se optima est, quae vero longe melior in natura longe meliore. se ipsam vero mens contemplatur comprehensione intelligibilis, id ipsum enim, quod attingit atque intelligit, efficitur id, quod intelligitur. quare mens et quod mente comprehenditur unum sunt, atque eadem res. mens enim id est, quod facultatem habet recipiendi, quae mente comprehenduntur, operatur vero cum informata et praedita fuerit. quibus constitutis sequitur, si quid divini mens habere videatur, multo cumulatus in Deo existere. Itemque contemplatio optima atque omnium iucundissima. Ergo si eam beatae vitae rationem perpetuo degit Deus, qualem interdum nos ducimus, adfert admirabilitatem, si autem longe beatiorem, longe maiorem admirabilitatem adfert. ad hunc autem modum est affectus Deus. tum vita in eo existit, mentis enim actio et functio est vita, ille vero est actio. actio vero quae per se in eo existit vita optima et perennis est. Esse autem Deum sempiternum atque optimum animal dicimus, quare vita atque aevo perenni et immortalis fruitur Deus. id ipsum enim est Deus. Iam vero quotquot existimaverunt ceu Pythagorei et Speusippus rerum initia neque optime neque maxime praestare, propterea quod initia, de quibus animalia et quae gignuntur e terra causae quidem sunt, at vero quae inde generantur exculta atque omnibus numeris absoluta videntur, non recte opinantur. semina enim de aliis, quae sunt antiquiora et expleta, creantur. neque semina sunt priora, sed quae omnes numeros habent, ceu hominem priorem esse semine quis dicat, non eum quidem, qui de semine

creatus est, sed alium de quo semen fluxit. Sempiternam ergo certam naturam existere, quae omni motu vacat longeque ab iis rebus, quas oculis licet contemplari semota sit, ex iis quae iam constituta sunt, manifestum est. Et quidem demonstratum est fieri non posse, ut ulla magnitudine sit praedita talis natura atque substantia, cum potius omnibus partibus vacans partiri et secari nullo modo potest. ad infinitum enim tempus hunc mundum ciet. At vero nihil quod immensam habet facultatem, finem habet ullum. Iam cum omnis magnitudo aut infinita sit, aut finita, finitam magnitudinem non potest habere ea natura, quae ad infinitum tempus movet, neque vero infinitam, neque enim magnitudo, quae nullis terminis circumscripta sit, consistere potest. Et quidem nulla perturbatione iactari nullamque pati alterationem planum est, quippe cum omnes caeteri motus eum qui in loco fit consequantur. Haec igitur cur ad hunc modum sint affecta planum est.

### ⟨VIII⟩

Utrum autem eiusmodi substantiae plures sint, an una, et si plures, quot numero sint ponendae ignorandum non est. Nihil enim de harum multitudine definiti et certi veteres tradiderunt, nam de ideis disputatio certam nullam de hac re pervestigationem habet. qui enim ideas invehunt eas numeros esse putant, de numeris autem modo, quasi infinita eorum multitudo sit, edisserunt, modo intra decem concludunt, neque vero cur haec numerorum multitudo constituenda sit, perfecte docent, aut grave ullum et necessarium argumentum adhibent. At vero ex iis quae constituta iam sunt, sequitur, quaestio omnis aperienda est, ea enim natura, ex qua cuncta profecta sunt, atque altissimum in hac universitate rerum gradum obtinet, neque per se, neque aliunde ullo modo agitari potest, ab ea vero simplex, perennis et omnium antiquissimus motus gignitur. At vero cum omnia quae motione cientur alicuius impulsu agitari necesse sit, primamque vim movendi immobilem per se existere, perennem autem simplicem atque unum motum a perenni simplici atque una natura fluere. oculis autem contemplamur praeter diurnum motum, quo universus mundus a prima atque immutabili natura circumagitur, alios motus existere aeternos et perennes quibus planetae incitantur. corpus enim rotundum, tum sempiternum est, tum a quiete et statu vacuum, ut in physicis demonstratum est. His inquam ita constitutis, sequitur necessario, singulos planetarum cursus et conversiones ab immobili aliqua natura, quae sempiterna sit, cieri. Stellarum enim natura substantia est sempiterna. quare et causa, unde stellarum cursus conficiuntur, tum sempiterna est, tum stellis, quae impelluntur antiquior, quia et

substantia est. Nam naturam eam esse substantiam necessarium est, quae substantiam antecedit. ergo his, quae prius dicta sunt, constitutis, manifesta res docet sempiternas substantias suaeque natura immobiles, omnisque motus et magnitudinis expertes, tot numero esse. Has igitur substantias esse atque ita quaque priorem ac posteriorem existere ut stellarum conversiones ordine dispositae sunt, planum et apertum est. Conversionum autem numerus ex astrologia, quae una ex mathematicis scientiis, artissimam habet cum philosophia cognationem, cognosci debet. in ea enim de substantia quidem sensibili sed tamen perenni et sempiterna disputatur. ceterae vero ceu ea, quae in numerorum tractatione versatur, et geometria nullam substantiam contemplantur. Plures igitur esse conversiones eorum corporum quae feruntur in caelo, compertum etiam ipsis esse potest, qui haec mediocriter attigerunt, quaeque enim vagantium stellarum non una sed pluribus conversionibus rapitur. Iam vero quae a quibusdam mathematicis de conversionum numero dicta sunt, ut intelligentius quae dicimus percipiantur, explicabimus, tum etiam ut certum ac definitum numerum animo videre possimus. Reliqua autem partim nos perquirere et indagare, partim ex iis, qui in harum rerum studio versantur interrogare decet, si quid etiam secus quam nos explicabimus videatur iis, qui studium atque operam in syderum scientiam collocant, et quidem utrique amandi, illis autem fides praestanda est, qui perfectius in iis rebus versantur. Eudoxus igitur solis et lunae cursum tribus utrunque globis contineri putavit, quorum primus stellarum quae inerrantes vocantur. secundum autem putabat eum, qui per medium signiferum orbem duceretur, tertium eum qui obliquus curreret in latitudine signorum (in ampliore autem latitudine esse obliquum circum per quem luna labitur, quam in quo sol circumagitur). Errantium autem syderum conversionem quaternis unamquamque sphaeris constare censuit, quarum primam et secundam eandem constituebat quam solis et lunae (inerrantium enim syderum conversionem reliquas omnes secum rapere, eam etiam quae sub hac collocata in eo globo convertitur, qui per medium signiferum ducitur orbem, communem cunctis existere), at vero tertiam omnium sphaerarum axes in eo globo affixos habere, qui per medium signiferum orbem trahitur, quartae vero cursum per obliquum ad eius medium circumagi, tertii vero globi axes caeteris quidem planetis suis cuique proprios assignavit. Veneris autem et Mercurii eosdem constituit. Callippus vero eandem globorum descriptionem quam Eudoxus posuit. eundem enim ordinem atque eadem intervalla utrique constituerunt, totidem etiam globos Saturni stellae, et Iovis fulguri assignarunt. Soli autem et lunae duos praeterea globos addendos censebat, si quis eorum quae apparent in caelo causam velit explicare, reliquis vero planetis singulis unam adiungebat. Iam

20, 27 et 29 syderum praebet cod. Ambrosianus D 465 inf. (f. 102<sup>r</sup> 6, 15 et 18), sed siderum legere oportet

vero si una omnia ea quae in caelo videntur effectura sint, singulis errantibus stellis alios totidem globos uno minores tribuendos sentiebat, qui quidem retro versarent et primum semper globum eius stellae quae infra collocata est ad eundem locum et situm revocarent. hac enim una tantum ratione stellarum vagantium cursus quae apparent omnia possunt efficere. Quoniam igitur hi globi in quibus ipsae circumferuntur partim sunt octo, partim quinque et viginti, horum autem eos solum retro versari non opus sit, in quibus infima stella infixata convertitur, efficitur eos globos sex numero esse, at vero sexdecim qui alia quatuor quae sequuntur stellarum orbis revolvunt, omnium ergo globorum numerus tum ii, in quibus ante citantur, tum in quibus retro versantur stellae errantes, quinque erunt et quinquaginta. Sin vero soli et lunae quis non adiungat eos motus quos diximus, globi omnes erunt septem et quadraginta. Quibus constitutis sequitur totidem esse substantiarum numerum atque initiorum, quae per se moveri non possunt, tum eorum quae movent sensum. necessarias enim mathematicarum rationes his relinquamus, qui vehementius et perfectius de iis rebus possunt disserrere. Iam vero si ne una quidem conversio esse potest, quae non referatur ad stellae cursum, itemque naturam omnem et substantiam impatibilem (quaeque in se ipsa optimae beataeque vitae causas positas habeat) finis rationem subire putandum sit necesse est, nullam aliam substantiam praeter has existere, sed hoc numero omnes concludi. nam si ulla alia existeret, motum aliquid cieret, cum quaeque cuiusque lationis causa et finis esse videatur, at vero lationes aliae praeter eas quas explicavimus esse non possunt, quod quidem ex iis quae feruntur in caelo consentaneum est discernere. cum enim cuncta quae deferunt ad ea quae deferuntur sua natura referantur, et omnis conversio cuiusque corporis quod circumfertur sit propria, concluditur nullam conversionem vel sui ipsius vel alterius conversionis, sed stellarum causa existere. Nam si una conversio conversionis causa erit, necesse est hanc aliarum conversionum causam esse. at vero cum infinita harum rerum series esse non possit, necesse est, cuique conversioni finem esse propositum aliquod eorum corporum divinorum, quae feruntur in caelo. Et quidem unum mundum esse manifestum est, si enim plures sint ceu homines, efficitur ut in singulis primum initium unum sit specie, numero distinguatur. at vero cuncta quae numero distinguuntur, materia sunt praedita. una enim est ratio et species, quae in multis dicitur, ceu hominis ratio, Socrates vero numero est unus. Prima vero substantia a materiae contagione semota est, actus enim est simplex. natura ergo quae vim movendi primum obtinet neque aliunde agitur et ratione et numero est una. quare et haec materiae moles, quae sempiterno et perenni motu convertitur, est una. ita fit, ut unus et solus sit mundus. At vero a priscis illis et antiquis tradita quaedam fabulae

instar de diis immortalibus ad posteritatem manarunt divinitatem, inquam, in corporibus caelestibus existere, deosque universitatem rerum continere. Reliqua vero omnia fabularum commentis referta ad persuadendum vulgus et imperitorum multitudinem coercendam ficta conversaque ad usum legum et vitae humanae oportunitatem. Esse enim deorum formas humanas voluerunt, deosque nonnullarum bestiarum similes effinxerunt, pluraque alia susceperunt, quae cum iis coniuncta sunt quaeque ex primis sequuntur. Sin vero haec reiiciantur, atque id tantum assumatur, antiquissimas primasque naturas ab eis in deorum numero relatas esse, nihil plane divinius dici potuit. Saepe enim philosophia et caeteris artibus, quoad fieri potuit, absolutis iterumque cadentibus verisimile est, has eorum opiniones de deorum immortalium maiestate quasi vestigia quaedam ad nostram usque aetatem viguisse. Hanc igitur de diis immortalibus opinionem a maioribus accepimus atque haec tantum a priscis explicata ad nos pervenerunt.

(IX)

Iam vero oriuntur de ipsa mente non nullae quaestiones, et quidem eorum omnium, quae in mundo spectantur, mens divinissima et praestantissima videtur. qualis vero eius natura sit, ut talem obtineat gradum, aliquatenus obscura quaestio est. si enim nihil intelligat, cum dormienti similis existat, quidnam in ea praeclarum aut eximium erit? sin vero intelligat ab externa vero aliqua natura ad intelligendum commonetur (eius enim substantia non sit intelligendi actio, sed facultas) non erit natura optima atque omnium rerum praestantissima. Dignitatem enim et praestantiam ab intelligendi functione habebit. Et quidem sive mens sua sit substantia, sive intelligendi actio, quaerendum est quaenam sub eius intelligentiam cadant? Aut enim ipsa seipsam tantum intelligit, aut aliarum quoque rerum habet intelligentiam, quod si externa atque alia contempletur, perpetuo ne semper eadem an multa et non eadem comprehendit? Obscurum quoque illud est, utrum aliquid an nihil intersit mentem iucundarum atque honestarum tantum rerum, an rerum omnium temere et sine delectu sive modestia sint, sive iucundam habere intelligentiam? an vero de nonnullis cogitare eius amplitudinem non decet? Perspicuum igitur esse potest, quae in mundo altissima et divinissima sunt, in mentis cognitionem venire, eamque in nulla varietate constitutam esse; in deteriora enim haec intelligendi mutabilitas laberetur atque in ea motus aliquis existeret, quo tamen vacare omni supra demonstravimus. Iam igitur si mens intelligendi sit facultas, primum quidem efficeretur assiduam et perpetuam cogitationem operosam et molestam ei



existere; deinde sequeretur aliquid aliud mente fore praestantius, id dico quod eam ad intelligendum movet. Et intelligere et intelligendi actio adesse possunt, vel deterrima quaeque cogitanti, quare cum interdum fugiendum et malum sit non nulla cognita habere (praestat enim aliqua non videre quam videre) sequitur intelligendi functionem optimam rerumque omnium praestantissimam non esse. Ergo in sui ipsius cognitione, quae rerum omnium maxima et optima est, versatur. Et intelligentia intelligentiae est intelligentia. At vero tum scientiae, tum sensui, tum opinioni, tum intelligentiae semper externum aliquid subiici quod ab eis comprehendatur, sui vero perceptio obiter et quasi appendix videtur. Iam vero cum aliud sit intelligere, aliud intelligi, vero eorum in Deo optimus status existit. neque enim eadem ratio tum in intelligentia, tum in re quae intelligitur; cernitur an vero nonnullarum rerum scientia a subiectis rebus nihil differt. Equidem in iis artibus, quae in affectione versantur, ipsa usia et essentia, quae materia vacat, in iis autem quae in cognitione et contemplatione positae sunt, rerum ratio et intelligentia a re subiecta non differt. Quamobrem cum inter intelligere et res quae intelliguntur nullum discrimen intercidat, sequitur in iis naturis, quae materia vacant, unum esse inter se, tum quod intelligitur tum ipsam intelligendi rationem, atque una intelligentia res comprehendendi. Remanet autem illa quaestio, si quod intelligitur copulatum sit et multiplex; ei enim aliqua mobilitas et vicissitudo reddita esset in earum partium contemplatione, quibus coaugmentatum est quod intelligitur. An vero cuncta quae a materia seiuncta sunt vicissitudinem atque partium divisionem non patiuntur, ceu humanae mentis aut cuiusvis naturae, quae multis partibus sit temperata, certo quodam tempore est conditio. neque enim in alia atque alia temporis parte bene, beateque se habet, sed uno temporis puncto optimum atque beatissimum (cum aliquid aliud sit) consequitur. quare ad eundem modum ea natura ad infinitas temporum aetates affecta est, quae ipsa est sui ipsius intelligentia.

⟨X⟩

Pervestigandum etiam est, utro modo hic mundus bonum et illud quidem summum nactus sit, naturane aliqua a mundo semota atque ipsa per se existat, an eius bonum rato et certo ordine contineatur, vel utroque modo, cuius similitudinem habet exercitus. Eius enim salus et bonum tum in ordine positum est, tum in ducis atque imperatoris praestantia. quod quidem bonum longe est altero maius. Non enim imperator ordinis causa existit, sed hic potius cuius causa explicatur. Et quidem cuncta in quendam

ordinem adducta, et si non eodem modo videntur, ceu bestiae terrenae, aquatiles, volatiles; ad eum modum non sunt inter se affectae, ut nihil societatis aut commercii una cum alia habeant, sed cognatione aliqua inter se tenentur. cuncta enim ad unius universi perfectionem expletionemque quodam ordine congregantur. Sed ut in domo recte instituta liberis nefas, et vitium iudicatur quicquam sine consilio et ratione agere, sed vel cuncta vel pleraque ad familiae decus et oportunitatem sunt convertenda. Servi autem et bestiae tum parum ad communem familiam augendam conferunt, tum pleraque inconsiderate et sine ratione committere eis licitum est. sic in hac naturae mole cuncta quae mutua quadam communione in universi absolutionem sese attingunt, affecta inter se sunt. Verum enimvero natura reatrix cuiusque reatrix et moderatrix videtur. quod autem dico est cuncta necessario in universum mundum constituendum referri. Iam vero quot absurda quaeque nulla ratione fieri possint eos qui aliter sentiunt suscipere necessarium sit, quaeve etiam qui elegantius meliusque de hisce rebus disseruerunt, afferant, quaeve levissimis obstructa sunt quaestionibus, difficultatibus, explicandum est. Cuncti enim de contrariis et pugnantibus cuncta efficiunt. Verum interea neque in eo quod omnia ortum aut interitum sentire, neque quod de contrariis cuncta creari opinantur recte sentiunt. Neque quonam modo de contrariis conficiantur ea in quibus insunt contraria satis explicant. Haud enim a contrario contrarium pati potest. At vero haec a nobis perfecte explicari possunt, ex eo quod contrariis tertiam naturam subiicimus. Nonnulli vero contrariorum alterum materiam faciunt, ceu qui inaequale aut multa aequali aut uni materiam substernunt. Caeterum id ipsum eodem modo explicari potest. Materia enim quae una formis omnibus subiicitur, cum nulla re pugnare potest. Iam vero cunctaque cum mali natura permixta esse sequeretur, si de contrariis omnia crearentur, atqui rei unius (natura boni inquam) tantum mali experts esset. Ipsum enim malum in eorum numerum refertur, de quibus omnia conficiuntur. Caeteri vero bonum et malum initia non constituunt atque omnia de boni natura refecta consistunt. Et ii quidem bonum rerum initium esse sentiunt. sed qua ratione boni natura initium sit non definiunt, utrum ut finis, an ut causa efficiens, an ut forma. A vera etiam ratione longe vagatur. Empedocles putat enim bonum esse pacem. haec autem tum in causarum unde motus proficiscitur numerum (omnia enim in unum chaos confundit atque miscet), tum in materiae naturam refertur. omnium enim rerum coacervationis pars existit. Sed ut concedam eandem naturam et materiam et vim moventem esse, tamen ratione inter se distingui necesse est, ex utraque igitur duorum pax est? absurdum autem est discordiam immortalem facere, haec autem est ipsius mali natura. Anaxagoras autem boni

naturam in eis primordiis esse credit, quae vim habent movendi, mentem enim cuncta motu cientem induxit. Sed mens alicuius gratia cunctis affert motum, quare alia sit natura necesse est. Nisi forte ita ut nos sentiat. medicinae enim scientia quodammodo bona est valetudo. In eo vero etiam peccat quod neque bono neque menti quicquam contrarium posuerit. At vero etsi omnes contraria initia induxerint, nisi tamen acrius quis inspexerit μή ῥυθμῇ, nemo enim uti contrariis in rerum ortu videbitur. Iam vero omnium causam aperit, cur alia caduca sint et mortalia, alia semipiterna et immortalia. de eisdem enim principiis cuncta creari opinantur atque eodem tum ii revolvuntur, qui de nihilo rerum naturas creant, tum ii qui ne ad haec cogereantur, omnia unum esse comminiscuntur. Iam neque ullus explicat, cum ab infinito tempore ad tempus infinitum rerum ortus fluat, neque etiam quae causa et vis sit, unde rerum generatio efficiatur. Cum etiam ii, qui duo rerum principia faciunt, necesse est suscipiant aliam naturam multo maiorum virium, longeque maioris praestantiae, itemque qui formas atque ideas advehant, naturam aliam multo praestantiores constituent necesse est, ex qua cuncta efficiantur. Aliqua enim causa est, cum ab infinito tempore multa participarint aut nunc etiam participant. Et quidem alii coguntur quicquam sapientiae scientiaeque omnium praestantissimae contrarium esse fateri. Nos autem haec suscipere non cogimur. Naturae enim quae altissimum tenet gradum nihil adversatur. Cuncta enim quae adversantur et materia sunt praedita et facultate existunt. Ignoratio vero quae sapientiae opposita est in eo versatur quod est contrarium. At principi illi Deo nihil adversatur. Iam vero si nulla praeter corporeas sensibusque subiectas substantias natura existit, sequitur ut neque quicquam sit a quo caetera omnia proficiscantur atque omnis ordo, rerumque ortus tollatur, cunctaque caelestia dissolvuntur atque in nihilum intereunt, quin potius nulla tam antiqua existunt initia, quae aliunde non oriantur. quae quidem tum theologos, tum physicos omnes fateri necessarium est. Si vero formae aut numeri in iis sunt quae corporis mole et concrezione vacant, primum efficitur ut nihil ex eis effici aut creari possit, et ut qui(c)quam possit fieri, illud certe nunquam impetrabitur ut ex eis ulla motio cieatur. Deinde quomodo ex individuis atque omni magnitudine vacantibus magnitudo ulla, aut continua natura fieri potest? numerus enim neque ut forma continuatum, quicquam conficiet? At vero neque contraria quae vim movendi atque efficiendi habeant, existent; possent enim cuncta ad nihilum redire. Sed facultate actio atque functio est posterior. Haec ergo naturae facies speciesque ad infinitum tempus neque fuit, neque erit. Sed immensum aevi curriculum ea nacta est. ergo qui(c)quam horum inficiandum est atque id quo modo esse possit explicatum est. Et quidem quonam modo numeri in unam



naturam coalescant, aut animo aut corpore quicquam temperetur, atque universe forma et materia res coagmententur, nemo quicquam dicit, neque dicere quidem potest, nisi ceu nos dicat a causa et vi movendi atque efficiendi generari. Qui autem mathematico numero principatum assignant atque ita semper cohaerentem naturam atque alia cuiusque rei initia inducunt, primum quidem naturam universi, neque ἐπεισοδιώδη compactam aut coagmentatam efficiunt; nihil enim una natura aliam sive sit, sive non sit adiuvat. Deinde multas eas naturas efficiunt a quibus, quasi a principibus reliqua omnia moderantur. Sed haec rerum universitas male regi non patitur. Nec bona res plures domini, rex unicus esto.

1. ἄμα δὲ οὐδ' ὄντα ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ταῦτα (1069 a 21–22)

Codicum scriptura anceps apparet. Vetus interpres, Graecus scholiastes, Argyropylos, Bessarion ταῦτα legunt. Ego vero τ' ἄλλα legendum autumo. Iam si ταῦτα sequamur, nescio suscipimus τὸ ποιὸν ἢ ποσὸν esse ποιότητες καὶ κινήσεις. ταῦτα enim cum ποιὸν ἢ ποσὸν antecedentia referre, tum ποιότητες καὶ κινήσεις consequentia subiicere perspicuum est. Quam lectionem Perionius probavit.

2. ὥς ὅλον τι τὸ πᾶν (1069 a 19)

Universale mundum sum interpretatus, cum enim multis aliis in locis ab Aristotele et Platone ita usurpatum cernimus, tum non semel hoc ipso opere servatum videmus. Infra enim haec scribuntur ὁρῶμεν δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀπλῆν φορὰν—et in libri calce ἐπεισοδιώδη τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν ποιοῦσιν.

ὅλον τι naturam non multis partibus temperatam, sed suis feci. nam ὅλον non in iis, quae multis, sed quae suis partibus continentur, ponitur.

3. ἢ καὶ τὸ οὐ λευκὸν (1069 a 23)

Duplex scriptura. Graecus scholiastes, Argyropylos, Bessarion, quos sectatus est Perionius, ἢ aspiratam circumflexam legunt, et similitudinis notam esse putant. Vetus autem interpres leni spiritu, ut in codicibus vetustioribus scriptum est, quod mihi probabilius videtur. Designat autem tacitae dubitationis explicationem. quam sententiam expressi.

4. ἦς ἢ μὲν ἀτῖδιος (1069 a 30–31)

Locus mendosus, in quo restituendo non parva est gravissimorum hominum dissensio. Argyropylos Graecum scholiastem secutus ultimum putat

superare. Alii e contrario primum expunxerunt, postremum legunt. Vetus interpres, quem Bessarion et D. Thomas sectantur, bis ἀϊδιος legit, quae quidem lectio verisimilis quidem videtur, et si D. Thomae explicatio a vero longe repulsa sit, quippe cum στοιχεία verbum adhiberi in causis, quae vim habent movendi, non possit, ut Plato et Aristoteles innumerabilibus locis docuerunt, quocirca Graeci schol(i)astis sententia multo mihi caeteris probabilior videtur, ut uberius in commentariis sum persecutus.

5. εἰς ἐναντιώσεις ἂν εἶεν τὰς καθ' ἑκάστον (1069 b 13)

Graecus scholiastes καὶ εἰς ἐναντιώσεις legit. Haec enim antecedentia referunt ὡς ἡγούμενον, quam scripturam D. Thomas probavit. Ex quibus primis sequatur materiam mutari facultatemque adversa recipiendi habere. Alii καὶ adimunt et εἰς ἐπόμενον transferunt: ex quatuor enim mutabilitatum generibus putant concludi cum quanquam mutationem in adversa fieri, tum materiam facultate existere atque eorum quae adversantur vicissitudini subiici. Quae posterior lectio mihi probabilior videtur.

6. εἰ δὴ τί ἐστι δυνάμει (1069 b 28)

Argyropylos et scholiastes Graecus vitiosum locum adverterunt, aliqua enim deesse putarunt, sed non recte explevisse quae deerant mihi videntur. Ita enim Argyropylos 'si igitur natura aliqua facultate est de ea ortus rerum', sed male. At multo deterius Graecus scholiastes, qui ita restituit 'si igitur natura aliqua actu non sit, sed facultate, de ea rerum generatio efficitur'. Ego hanc corrigendi rationem, quae nulla probabili coniectura fulta sustinetur, non tantum lucem non afferre, sed etiam caligine omnia obducere puto. At enim mutilatum locum esse duo fidem faciunt. Unum, εἰ, quod cum sit συνημμένον duabus partibus concluditur. Una antecedit, altera consequitur. Exploratum autem est consequentia deesse cum prima legantur. Alterum ἀλλ' ὁμῶς οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος. quae plane verba emendare superiorem sententiam videntur. At vero referri non possunt εἰς τὸ εἰ δὴ τί ἐστι δυνάμει. Quamobrem locum ita corrigendum autumo: Ex superiore enim sententia verba quae liquido superare videntur demenda atque in hunc locum, ubi desunt, transferenda. ita enim paulo superius legitur, quare non solum ex accidente ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι ex non ente, verum etiam ex ente fiunt omnia. Superare ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι mihi videntur; lubricus etiam locus, in quo librarii laberentur, quod utrisque in locis ἐκ μὴ ὄντος legendum esset. Hunc ergo locum ex superiore explendum esse putavi hoc modo: Si igitur natura aliqua est facultate ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι ἐκ μὴ ὄντος.

## 7. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ (1070 a 8)

Verba haec male in hunc locum irrepsisse manifesta res docet. aetiologia enim est διὰ τῆς παραθέσεως. patet autem cum superiore sententia, in qua artis et naturae discrimen aperitur, nullo modo continuari posse. Caeterum Graecus scholiastes vitium vidit, sed non recte mea opinione emendavit. Paulo ergo superius revocanda haec verba censeo, aut ὡς σχόλιον delenda. Caeterum si retinenda sint, ita puto collocanda: substantiae quae natura constant de similibus similes creantur. homo enim de homine progeneratur, tum reliqua omnia causis suis similia gignuntur. Multas habeo huius meae opinionis coniecturas, et ni fallor probabiles et firmas, sed eas in commentariis uberius mihi tractandas proposui.

## 8. ὅσα γὰρ ἐστὶ ἀφῆ καὶ μὴ συμφύσει (1070 a 10–11)

Qui σύμφυσιν copulationem aut coadhaerentiam faciunt, verbi vim atque auctoris sensum non videntur assecuti. Nam ἀφῆ καὶ συμφύσει quasi contraria ponuntur. Vetus interpret connascentiam vertit, φύσιν autem ortum et nativitatem notare manifestum est. quare expressi natura cognationem, σὺν enim cognationem feci.

## 9. τῷ φαίνεσθαι (1070 a 10)

Verti 'si ad oculos referatur', Ciceronem imitatus, qui primo Tusculanarum quaestionum 'nihil', inquit, 'animo videre poterant, cuncta ad oculos referebant' (CIC. *Tusc.* I. 37).

## οἶον πῦρ, σὰρξ, κεφαλὴ (1070 a 19)

In hunc locum haec verba, et quae sequuntur, revocavi, quae paulo infra legebantur, nulla quidem vetusti codicis auctoritate motus, sed ipsius rei quasi vestigiis ductus. Nemo est enim qui non intelligat hanc παράθεσιν nihil omnino continuationis habere cum ea sententia quacum cohaerebat, in qua de Platonis opinione disseritur, qui ideas iis tantum, quae natura constant, non quae arte fiunt, assignandas putat. quare nullum exitum habebant. in eum autem locum relata, in quem revocavimus, superioris sententiae explicationem perspicue complectuntur, ut manifesta res docet.

## 10. ἡ δὲ φύσις καὶ τόδε τι εἰς ἣν καὶ ἕξις τις (1070 a 11–12)

Locum mendosum plerique omnes senserunt. Bessarion Cardinalis veterem interpretem secutus ita emendavit 'natura autem et hoc aliquid, et

habitus quidam ad quem'. Argyropylos scholiastem Graecum imitatus ita restituit 'natura autem et hoc aliquid, et habitus quidam, ad quem generatio'. Ego vero loco ἔξις legendum autumo γένεσις τις. Facile enim corrodī et labefactari potuit prima syllaba γεν et cum εἰς scriberetur, fortasse ἔξις perperam emendatum fuit vitio non animadverso. Caeterum, si γένεσιν legamus, omnia plana et proclivia fiunt. D. Thomas ἔξιν fecit generationem sed quamvis sententiam sapienter sit assecutus, tamen non recte habitum pro generatione usurpavit. Esse autem formam cuiusque generationis finem saepe Aristoteles demonstravit. Plato vero rerum ortum τοῦ εἶδους μετάληψιν interitum vero ἀποβολήν αὐτοῦ subinde vocare est solitus.

11. καὶ πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τέχνην (1070 a 17)

Neque Argyropylos neque Perionius, neque alii si qui sunt, recte in iis quae artis efficientia \* haec verba posuerunt. nam ut concedam in iis quae arte constant hanc loquendi formam interdum adhiberi, hoc tamen sermone ita usurpari liquido inficiari ausim, non enim quae ab arte proficiscuntur, sed quae ad artis vim et naturam spectant, intelligenda sunt.

12. ἕτερον γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸ γενόμενον (1070 b 15–16)

Non tantum de loco suo haec in alienum male coniecta sunt, verum aliqua parte vacare videntur, neque enim cum primis, neque cum sequentibus ullam habent continuationem, quippe cum antecedens sententia docet primordia, de quibus creantur substantiae in genus substantiae transferri, quod διὰ τῆς ἐκθέσεως—in simplicium et mixtorum corporum natura declaratur. quibuscum omnino nihil cohaeret explicatio discriminis quod inter primordia et ea quae refecta de eis consistit, intercedit. quare hunc locum primum supplevi quod γὰρ aetiologiῶς adieci, deinde in suum locum ret(t)uli. motus autem sum Graeci scholiastis au(c)toritate, qui et sapienter scripturae vitium advertit, et γὰρ perpetuo explevit. Iam vero quis est qui non videat in eum locum hanc materiam transferendam, in quo Zenonis et Platonis de ente et uno, unde cuncta crearentur, opinio explosa est? quod enim firmamentum ad hanc opinionem evertendam vehementius constitui potest, quam quod ex hac sententia colligitur? Si enim concedantur cuncta de ente et uno creari, constituatur vero, quae de primordiis refecta sunt ab eis distare. quis ignorare potest, necessario concludi, neque substantias neque ullam aliam categoriam ens et unum esse? quae cum suscipienda non sint, efficitur neque de ente et uno cuncta fieri.



13. *περὶ ἑκάστον γένος* (1070 b 19–20)

Genus institutionem expressi, et totam sententiam Ciceronis fere verbis sum complexus, qui secundo libro de natura deorum ita scripsit: ‘Neque enim dici potest, in ulla rerum institutione, non esse aliquid extremum et perfectum’ (Cic. *N.D.* II. 35): feci ergo ‘in quaque rerum institutione’.

14. *ἄλλο δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον ὡς κινεῖν* (1070 b 26–27)

Horum verborum sententia neque cum antecedentibus neque cum consequentibus cohaeret. quocirca de loco ubi legebantur deleta in eum rettuli, ubi apta et accomodata videbantur. Tollitur etiam molesta quaedam verborum iteratio, Aristoteli qui perpetuo brevitatem sectatus est inusitata. Iam ita locum emendavi, et quidem causae unde motus profluit et vim efficiendi habent in certum primordiorum et substantiarum genus transferuntur. Sed dissimiles causae sunt e quibus primum dissimilia cientur. Ergo cunctarum rerum elementa proportionem sunt tria, causae autem et primordia quatuor, sed sua cuique propria ut bona valetudo. Sed doctorum hominum iudicium esto.

## τὸ δὲ ὡς κινεῖν ἢ ἰστῶν (1070 b 24–25)

Aut Argyropyli sententiam imitandam censeo, qui ἰστῶν abundare putat, aut vituperandi, qui ἰστῶν quietem afferentem expresserunt. Graecus scholiastes ἰστῶν αἴτιον ποιητικὸν interpretatur.

15. *ἐν μὲν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἄνθρωπος* (1070 b 30–31)

Scholiastes Graecus legit in natura constantibus hominibus homo, quae scriptura neque a vetere interprete, neque ab Argyropylo servata est. probabilior mihi vulgata lectio videtur. assumitur καθολικῶς in natura constantibus, adiungitur homo ὡς ἐκθεσις quae docendi ratione ab Aristotele perpetuo servatur, item quae contraria ponuntur respondent aptius.

16. *ὅτι τῶν οὐσιῶν* (1071 a 1)

Lubricus locus in quo labi facile est. Ego immutanda verba censeo ad hunc modum ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν χωριστά, τὰ δ' οὐ χωριστὰ οὐσίαι ἐκεῖναι. ὅτι τῶν οὐσιῶν ἄνευ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ πάθη καὶ αἱ κινήσεις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντων αἴτια. Ut ita emendarem impulsus sum quod ὅτι τῶν οὐσιῶν aetiologicῶς assumitur, quae quidem explicatio valet ad confirmandum substantiam a caeteris posse separari; quo constituto concluditur substantias esse primordia de quibus cuncta creantur.

17. ἄλλως δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέρει, ὧν μὴ ἐστὶν (1071a11–12)

Non solum haec verba, sed quae sequuntur tam corrupta et depravata mihi videntur, ut affirmare non dubitarem esse haec omnia labefactata, corrosa et miserabiliter discerpta. Et quidem Graeci interpretis emendationem probare non possum, sed neque meliorem afferre. id tantum notatum volo, Argyropyllum et veterem interpretem dissoluta verba non legere, sed coniunctim, quam scripturam Graecus scholiastes sectatus est.

18. τὸ ἀϊδιον εἶδος (1071a14)

Varia scriptura est, plerique codices ἀϊδιον εἶδος legunt. vetus autem interpres, Argyropyllus qui Graecum scholiastem imitatus est, ἴδιον εἶδος. Ego non video quomodo ἀϊδιον hoc loco usurpari possit; quorsum enim idearum commemoratio? Qui autem loco ἴδιον ψυχὴν restituunt, inepte mihi facere videntur, atque audacius, quam par sit.

19. καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν (1071a9)

Haec verba aut alio transferenda aut omnino inducenda puto, neque enim cum antecedentibus neque cum consequentibus ulla ex parte cohaerent. quod perspicuum est ex verbo ἀμφοῖν quod in duabus rebus semper ponitur, at vero formam tantum meminerat, eamque πρὸς ἐνέργειαν revocari demonstrarat. aut ergo omnino delenda aut supra transferenda sunt. Cum enim substantiarum primordia animum et corpus constituisset, apte emendatione uti videbatur, si subiecisset et quod ex utrisque temperatum est, nam sive de caelo, sive de naturis aliis haec verba intelligantur, non animum tantum et corpus, sed quod ex utrisque coagmentatum est in causarum numerum referuntur, animus ceu forma, corpus materia et quod ex utrisque temperatum est, ceu vis et initium movendi.

20. ἐνεργείᾳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ εἶδος ἐὰν ᾗ τὸ χωριστὸν (1071a8–9)

Scholiastes Graecus vitium atque mendum sensit, et lumen supplevit, sed inepta mihi videtur haec correctio, quid enim ineptius dici potuisset quam si concedatur lumen separari, sequi formam ad energiam revocari? Caeterum idearum comminisci hoc loco non videtur verisimile; quorum enim ideae? Ergo aut omnino delenda aut in eum locum restituenda, ubi reposuimus.

## 21. στέρησις δὲ ἢ σκότος ἢ κάμνον (1071 a 9–10)

Aut haec sunt delenda, aut vitiosa scriptura est. Ego non dubitarim σκότος ἢ κάμνον expungere. στέρησιν vero magis in materiam quam in formam transferri, in commentariis perfectius demonstravi.

## 22. οἶον οἰκιῶν τὸ εἶδος εἰ μὴ ἡ τέχνη (1070 a 14–15)

Nonnulli haec verba pessime depravarunt. primum enim sententiam non expresserunt, deinde hanc dicendi formam huic auctori per familiarem corruperunt. non enim εἰ μὴ ἡ τέχνη est κατηγορήμα, sed προκατάληψις.

Quorum verborum haec sententia est in nonnullis, formae, si quibus inhaerent, separari non possunt, ut aedium forma. non tamen eam formam intelligo, quae extruendarum aedium ars est: haec enim a materia separata consistit; sed ipsum artis opus formamque aspectabilis domus.

## 23. ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ (1072 a 2)

Ita exemplaria fere omnia habent. Bessarion Cardinalis ἅμα non legit, sed animi nativatem caelo posteriorem fuisse convertit. Equidem ex Platonis monimentis quae extant, non ita liquido cognosci potest, utrum animi una cum caelo ortus fuerit, an eo posterior. Ego Bessarionis sententiam neque audeo infirmare, quod suspicor Platonem animum natu minorem caelo effecisse, neque omnino probare quod aliter in cunctis fere exemplaribus scriptum sit. omnes etiam fere interpretes clamare videntur.

## 24. σπέρμα καὶ γονή (1071 b 31)

quod intercedat discrimen inter σπέρμα καὶ γονήν tum Dioscorides tum Nonius Marcellus explicarunt. Argyropylus semel tantum fecit. Bessarion humanum loco γονῆς expressit. Vetus interpret semen et genituram.

## 25. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔτυχε κινεῖται (1071 b 34–35)

Ego Bessarionis interpretationem probare non possum, qui ὡς ἔτυχε κινεῖται ‘susque deque movetur’ fecit. Manifestum enim est iis verbis hanc sententiam subici: Leucippum et Platonem sempiternum motum effecisse, sed quodnam genus motionis a qua causa proficiscatur, nihil meminisse, cum tamen hoc in primis dictum oportuisset. nihil enim temere aut fortuito movetur. patet autem ‘susque deque’ non id notare quod ὡς ἔτυχε—ut Gelius cap. 9 lib. 16 ex Laberio demonstrat.

26. κινεῖ δὲ ὧδε ὁρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν κινεῖ οὐ κινούμενον (1072 a 26–27)

Apparet Graecum scholiasten, Argyropyllum et veterem interpretem aliam scripturam imitatos, ita enim legunt κινεῖ δὲ ὧδε τὸ ὁρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν, κινεῖ γὰρ τὸ κινούμενον. atque in unum referunt ὁρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν, et cum ὧδε componunt. subiciunt deinde aetiologicῶς, κινεῖ γὰρ οὐ κινούμενον. Quibus verbis hanc sententiam subici putant, quae movent appetitionem atque intelligentiam hoc modo movent. ipsa enim caeteris motum afferunt, cum aliunde non agitentur. Ego vulgatam scripturam retinendam non abnuo omnemque orationem in duo membra tribuo, unum docet quae motum animis afferunt habere vim movendi cum ipsa non moveantur. alterum quae intelligentia apprehenduntur, afferre motum caeteris, ea non agitari aliunde, sed utraque scriptura eandem sententiam continet, et si prior huic auctori usitatio videatur.

27. ἔστι γὰρ τινὶ (1072 b 2)

Scholiastes Graecus loco γὰρ, δὲ legendum autumat. sed ego γὰρ retinendum censeo. est enim explicatio qua superior sententia concludi potest, ut sapienter animadvertit D. Thomas; finis enim rationem in deorum naturis (quas ἀκινήτους vocat) existere ex distinctione manifestum esse. primum Aristoteles memorat, mox distinctionem comminiscitur. bipartito enim finis ratio tribuitur, in nonnullis enim antea existit, in aliis non item.

28. ἔστι γὰρ τινῶν τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα (1072 b 2)

Locum mendosum esse non abnuerem et lubenter τινῶν loco τινὶ supplerem. Primum enim facile corrodī potuit postrema syllaba vitiato ὦν, sed non omnino deleo, ceu cum scribendum esset τινῶν, labefactata scriptura ita apparebat τιν/. Ad id suspicandum multa me movent. Primum enim quae mox sequuntur scilicet ὦν τὸ μὲν ἔστιν οὐδ' οὔτε ἔστι apte referre videantur τινῶν. Deinde quod haec elocutio ἔστι γὰρ τινὶ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα huic auctori non adeo usitata videtur totaque horum verborum haec subicitur sententia: in iis naturis, quae motu et vicissitudine vacant (quales deorum naturas dicimus) finis rationem existere. manifestum est ex distinctione, de qua primum dicendum est. finis ergo ratio bipartito secatur. cum enim finis ratio in nonnullis existat, intelligendum est, in eorum quibusdam eam existere, in aliis non item. sed efficientia et actione creari qualis finis ratio in deorum naturis non reperitur. In iis enim finis ratio iam existit, non autem actione motuque efficitur. sed doctiorum esto iudicium.

## 29. ὥστε εἰ ἡ φορὰ πρώτη (1072 b 5)

Scholiastes Graecus quem sequitur Argyropylus et Bessarion haec verba ὥς ἡγούμενα usurpat, ex quibus ea quae sequuntur expuncto δὲ efficiantur, ut haec sententia subiciatur: quamobrem si prima latio, et actus existit quo agitur, sequitur ut etsi nullam naturae varietatem, loci tamen necessitudinem patiat. <sup>4</sup> Vetus interpretes aliam scripturam atque aliam omnino sententiam sectatur, neque εἰ συνημμένον legit, quae mihi sententia visa est probabilior, ut pluribus in commentariis declaravi.

## 30. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγῳ μόνον (1072 a 22)

Ciceronis verbis hanc sententiam expressi, qui secundo libro de natura deorum haec scripsit: 'licet enim iam remota subtilitate disputandi, oculis quodammodo contemplari pulcritudinem rerum earum quas divina providentia dicimus constitutas' (Cic. *N.D.* II. 98). feci οὐ λόγῳ subtilitatem disputandi ἔργῳ vero expressi oculis contemplari. In utriusque enim oratione spectatur amplificatio a minoribus ad maiora, nam ratione disputandique subtilitate fides constituitur, sed multo maior est quae sensibus, integris testibusque utitur.

## 31. καὶ τὰ τῶν λελοξωμένων (1073 b 29–30)

Bessarion κατὰ τῶν λελοξωμένων legit, quae scriptura mihi non improbatur, quamvis eam non sim imitatus, quod vulgata scriptura facilius videretur.

## καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νόησις νοήσεως νόησις (1074 b 34–35)

Exploratum est hunc locum vacare aliqua sui parte, tum autem explere non est difficile. adiungendum enim est φαίνεται δὲ αἰεὶ ἄλλου τινὸς quam restituendi rationem non obscure sentit Argyropylus. Ita vero locum esse corrigendum nemo unquam potest addubitare. scientia enim opinione et sensu comprehendi aliquid rerum subiectarum per se, ipsam vero perceptionem in externarum cognitione, quasi appendicem existere declaratur.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ophius Fabiani a Nipho Iacobi fili, seu de caelesti animarum progenie divinatio*, Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Ioannis Balduini, 1599, 32: "Corpora vero quae sunt in coelo, etsi semper eadem videantur, atque ab omni interitu segregata, una tamen loci mutabilitate concitari." [Copy used: Austrian National Library, Vienna, shelf mark 31. F. 8] It should be noted that this philosophical dialogue of Fabius Niphus was reprinted at Leyden in 1617.

## 32. οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸ εἶ ἐν τῷ (1075 a 8–9)

Vitiosum esse αἰεὶ, mihi non est dubium. quare restituendum est ἔχει, corrosa autem litera χ, ε in α perperam immutatum est, cum veteres eam scripturam retinerent ἔχει. quod mendum non tantum ego sed veteres fere omnes senserunt.

## 33. τοιαύτη γὰρ ἐκάστου ἀρχή (1075 a 22–23)

Ego haec verba de hoc loco expunxi, quod mirabiliter cuncta perturbarent, utrum recte fecerim non audeo affirmare. Certe si paulo infra transferantur fuerint omnia clariora.

## 34. ἐὰν μὴ ῥυθμῇσιν (1075 b 12)

Locum depravatum esse multi non indocti viri senserunt. Bessarion Cardinalis, Argyropylus et Graecus scholiastes legerunt ῥαθυμήσει putaruntque hanc sententiam subici: Veteres contraria initia de quibus rerum ortus fierent, advexisse; verum interea, si quis acrius eorum scripta considerarit, in rerum creatione declaranda contrariis usos non esse. quam scripturam expressi. Caeterum si ῥυθμῇσιν legatur et acrius huius verbi vis expendatur, fortassis vulgata scriptura mendosa non est, quam D. Thomas et vetus interpret imitati sunt. Et quidem ῥυθμίζω et ῥυθμός, quo vocabulo usum Democritum αὐτὸ τοῦ εἶδους testatur Ioannes Grammaticus,<sup>5</sup> corrigere, comere, ornatum et formam designat. quo circa Aristoteles primo naturalis auscultationis ὕλην vocat ὑποκείμενον ἀρύθμιστον ·|· ἄμορφον,<sup>6</sup> at vero hoc loco ῥυθμίζειν nihil est aliud quam comere et expolire ·|· in meliorem sensum referre, quae ab iis, qui primo sunt philosophati, impolite et obscure dicta sunt, atque ut Aristoteles ait, ψελλιζομένως.<sup>7</sup> Et tota sententia talis est: Nisi quispiam veterum philosophantium scripta aliter intelligenda putet, quam significare videantur, fieri, ut etsi omnes contraria initia, de quibus res conficiuntur, statuerint, in rerum tamen ortu contrarietatem non adhibuisse videantur. quam sententiam vetus interpret expressit, et eam D. Thomas parte attigit. Aristotelem vero cum multis locis, tum hoc eodem opere eandem de veteribus sententiam protulisse manifestum est.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Phlp. in GC 26. 8, in de An. 68. 3 et in Ph. 117. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Arist. Ph. I, 191 a 10. Verba ἡ ὕλη καὶ non spreuit I. Barnes. Signum ·|· in codice Ambrosiano D 465 inf. invenitur (f. 112<sup>r</sup>, 22–23).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Arist. Metaph. A 4, 985 a 5 et A 10, 993 a 15.

ἐπεισοδιώδη τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν ποιοῦσιν (1076a1)

Pythagoreos quia de numeris cuncta creata esse censebant, necessario suscipere hanc universam naturae molem in nullum ordinem adductam esse, neque coagmentatam, sed confusam atque dissolutam hoc loco Aristoteles docet. quae quoniam manifesto falsa sunt, sequitur, prima, de quibus huc praecipitatum est, inficienda esse. Iam vero decimo tertio horum operum libro eadem sententia clarius scripta est.





## AN INACCURATELY CATALOGUED GREEK MANUSCRIPT FROM THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD

It has repeatedly been claimed that the still understudied codex *Athous* 4508 Lambros (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἱβήρων 388), which transmits *inter alia* some texts by Gennadios II Scholarios, contains an excerpt of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Lambda, as well as another fragment of the *Metaphysics*.<sup>1</sup> It is true that this manuscript exhibits at the top of f. 45<sup>v</sup> (according to the old folio numbering f. 46<sup>v</sup>) the heading ἐκ τοῦ λ τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. However, this caption does not introduce an excerpt from book Lambda. As can be noticed without difficulty, a brief paraphrase of the passage 1069a30–33 (f. 45<sup>v</sup>, ll. 1–2) leads to some philosophical and hermeneutical remarks that do not continuously reflect with accuracy the utilized Aristotelian text.

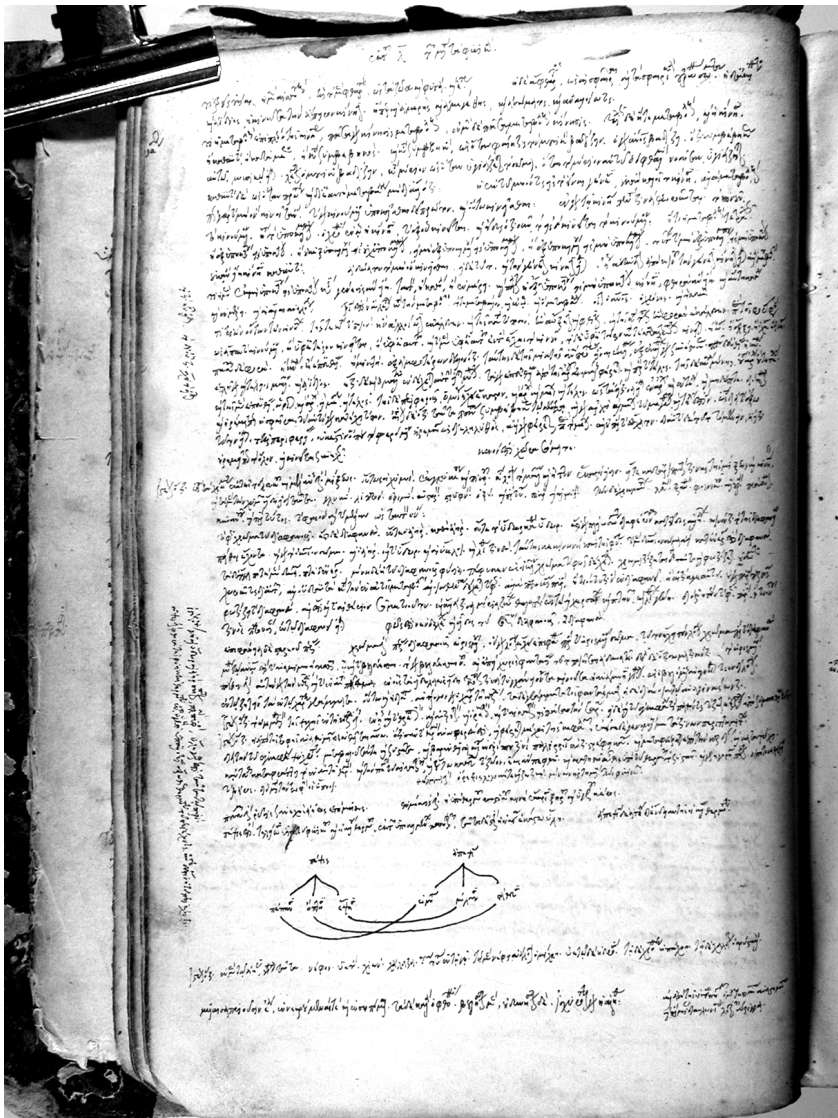
In the first two lines one can decipher:

(δ)τι τρεῖς οὐσίαι, ἡ μὲν αἰσθητή, ἥς τὸ μὲν φθαρτόν, ὡς τὰ ζῶα καὶ φυτά, καὶ  
ἔτ(ε)ρ(α) [habet spatium vacuum decem fere litterarum] ἡ δὲ ἀφθαρτος, ὡς  
αἱ σφαίραι καὶ τὰ σφαιρικά οὐράνια σώματα. ἡ δ' ἀκίνητος καὶ αἰθέριος ἡ κινουσα τὴν  
ἅπειρον κίνησιν· ἥπερ καὶ ἀμερὴς καὶ ἀμεγέθης, καὶ ἀσώματος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος.

Photographs of this folio have been reproduced on pp. 186–187.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. II, Cambridge 1900, 124: (φ. 45 α). “Ἐκ τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά.” ... (φ. 46 β). “Ἐκ τοῦ λ τοῦ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά.” Cf. J. A. P. Byrne, *Codices recentiores of Aristotle's Metaphysics*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1958, 102: “41. Athous 4508 (Monastery of Iveron 388). 16th cent.; paper in octavo; 994ff. This codex is an anthology of hymns, poems, letters, and theological writings. Under the forty-third title (f. 45<sup>r</sup>) there are excerpts from Aristotle, of which the second is from the *Metaphysics*. Under the forty-fourth, with the heading ἀπανθίσματα, there are passages from various authors: the eight of these is from *Metaphysics*, Book Lambda. (f. 46<sup>v</sup>).” See further e.g. Basile Psephtogas, ‘Le codex 388 du monastère Ivion, dit “Ἱεραρχικός”, *Cyrrilomethodianum* 5, 1981, 135–145.

<sup>2</sup> Warmest thanks are due to the manuscript owners, especially to the Very Revd. Fr. Theologos, Librarian of the H. M. Iveron. Furthermore, I am much indebted to the Aristotle University of Thessalonica, the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, the British School at Athens, the Centre for History and Palaeography of the Greek National Bank Cultural Foundation, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the Hellenic State Scholarships Foundation, the Hellenic National Research Foundation, and in particular to Professor G. Babiniotis, Dr. M. Cassiotou-Panayotopoulos, Professor G. A. Christodoulou, Διευθυντής Ἑρευνῶν Dr. Kriton Chrysochoidis, Professor V. Katsaros, Dr. G. D. Katsis, Professor E. K. Litsas, Professor G. Martzelos, Professor A. D. Mavroudis, Professor I. Mylopoulos, Dr. G. Panayotopoulos, Professor I. T. Papadimitriou, Professor Michael Reichel, as well as to

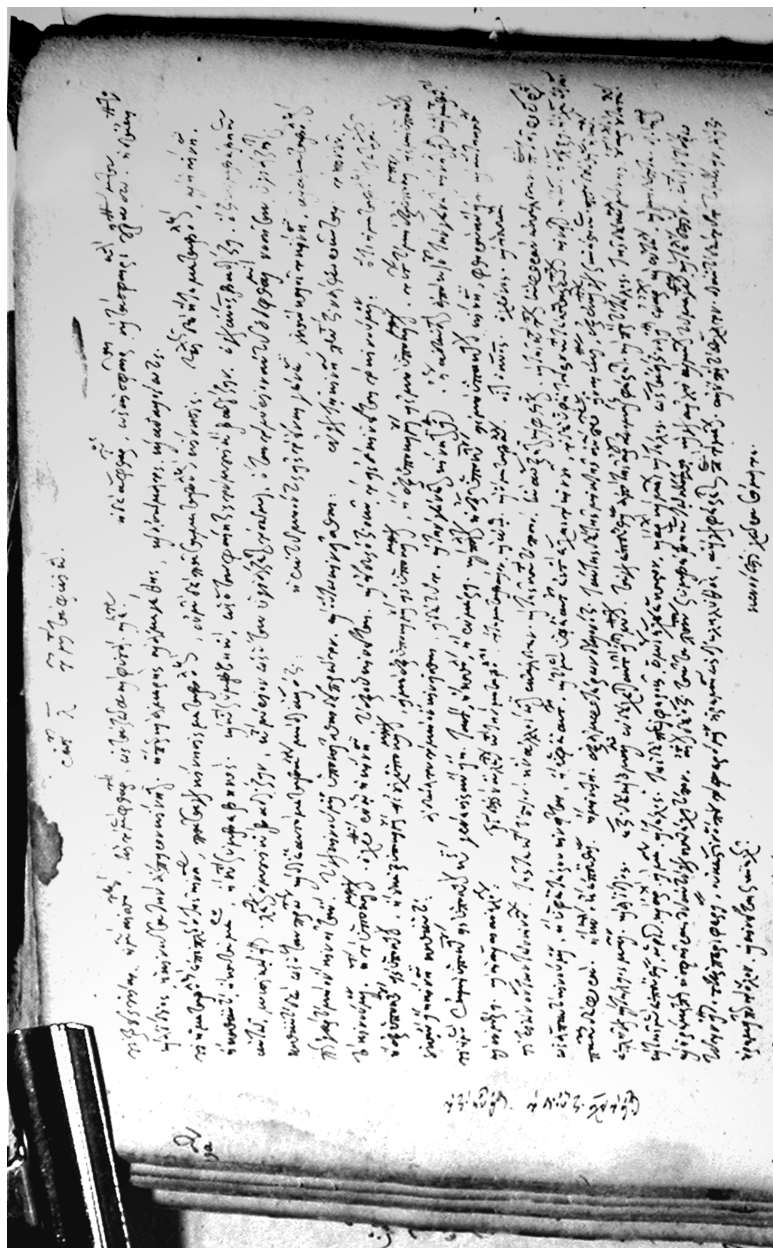


Cod. Athous, 'Ιερὰς Μονῆς 'Ιβήρων 388 (4508 Lambros), f. 45<sup>v</sup>

Photo: Γέρων Θεολόγος 'Ιβηρίτης, βιβλιοφυλάξ

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Professor Agamemnon Tselikas, who, at various stages, did their best to make my research in Aristotle's homeland a delightful experience.

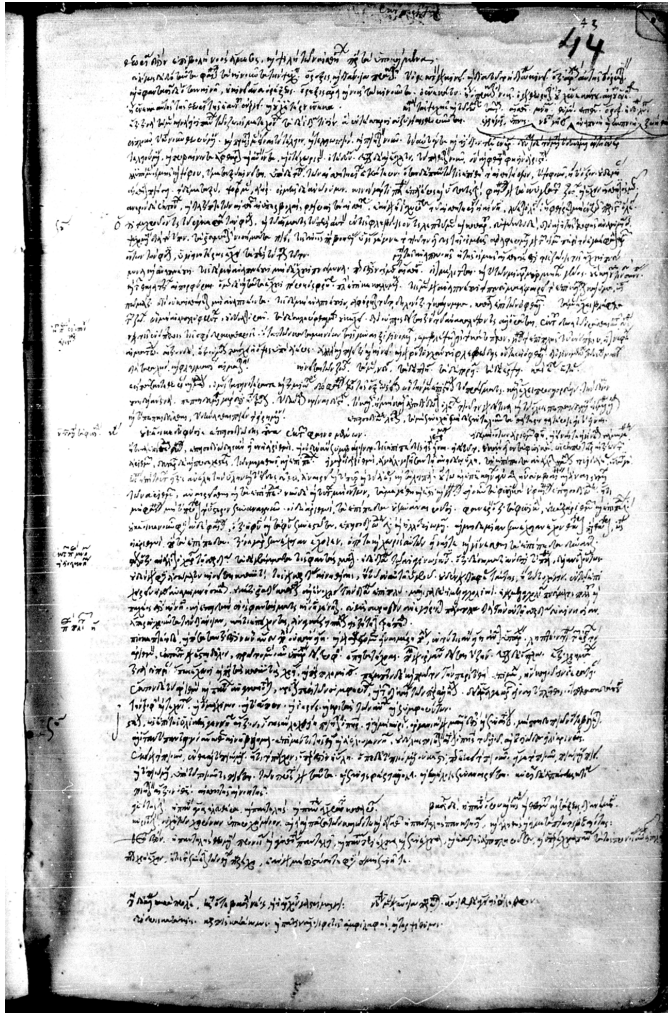


Cod. Athous, 'Ιερὰς Μονῆς 'Ιβήρων 388 (4508 Lambros), f. 45<sup>v</sup>, ll. 1-21

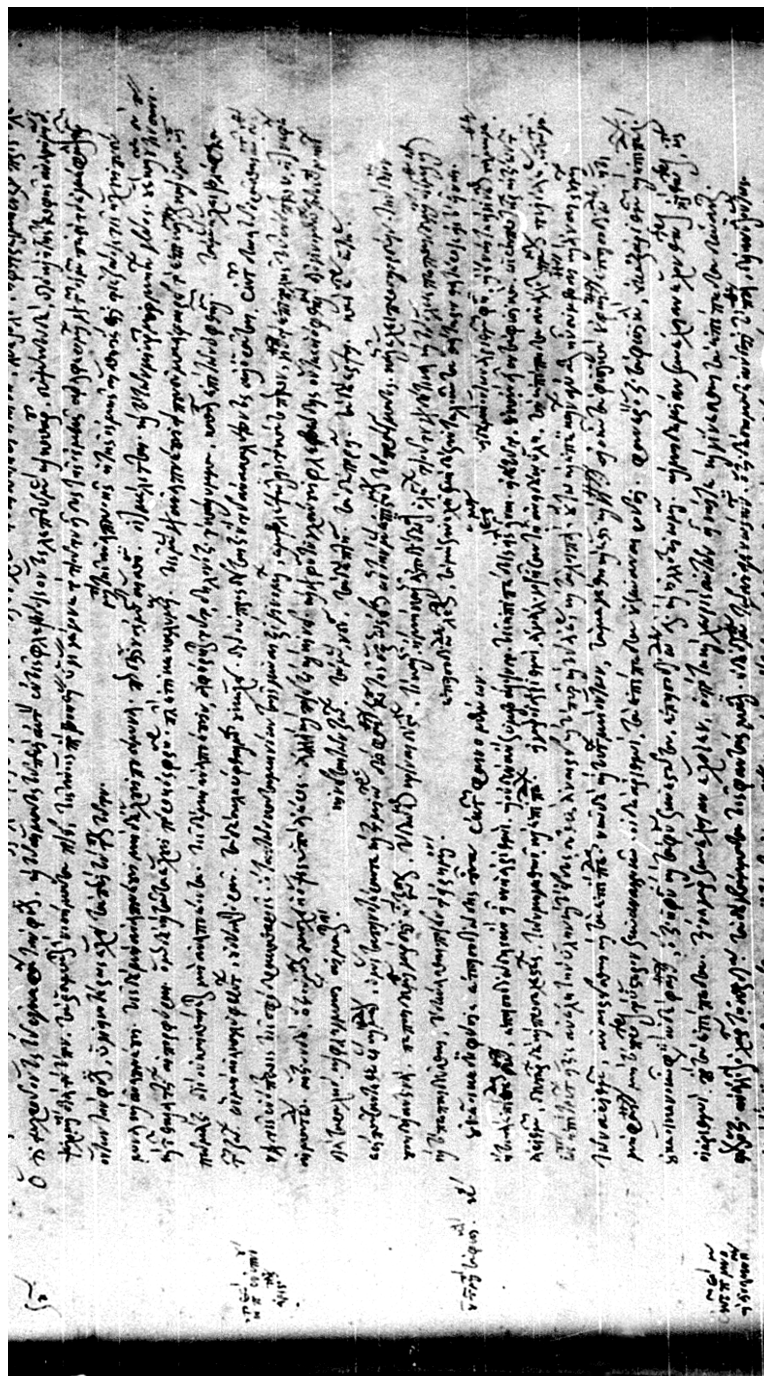
Photo: Γέρων Θεολόγος 'Ιβήριτης, βιβλιοφύλαξ

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On f. 44<sup>r</sup> (in conformity with the old page count f. 45<sup>r</sup>), on the other hand, one finds in lines 24–31 a section starting with the words οὐκ εἶοικε δ' ἡ φύσις ἐπεισοδιώδης οὖσα ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων (*Metaph.* N 3, 1090 b 19–20). Since scholars have been puzzled long enough by this piece of manuscript evidence (which is not particularly easily accessible), it is equally reproduced here.



Cod. Athous, 'Ιερὰς Μονῆς 'Ιβήρων 388 (4508 Lambros), f. 44<sup>r</sup>  
 Scanned from microfilm no. 138 A; filmed on February 2nd, 1971  
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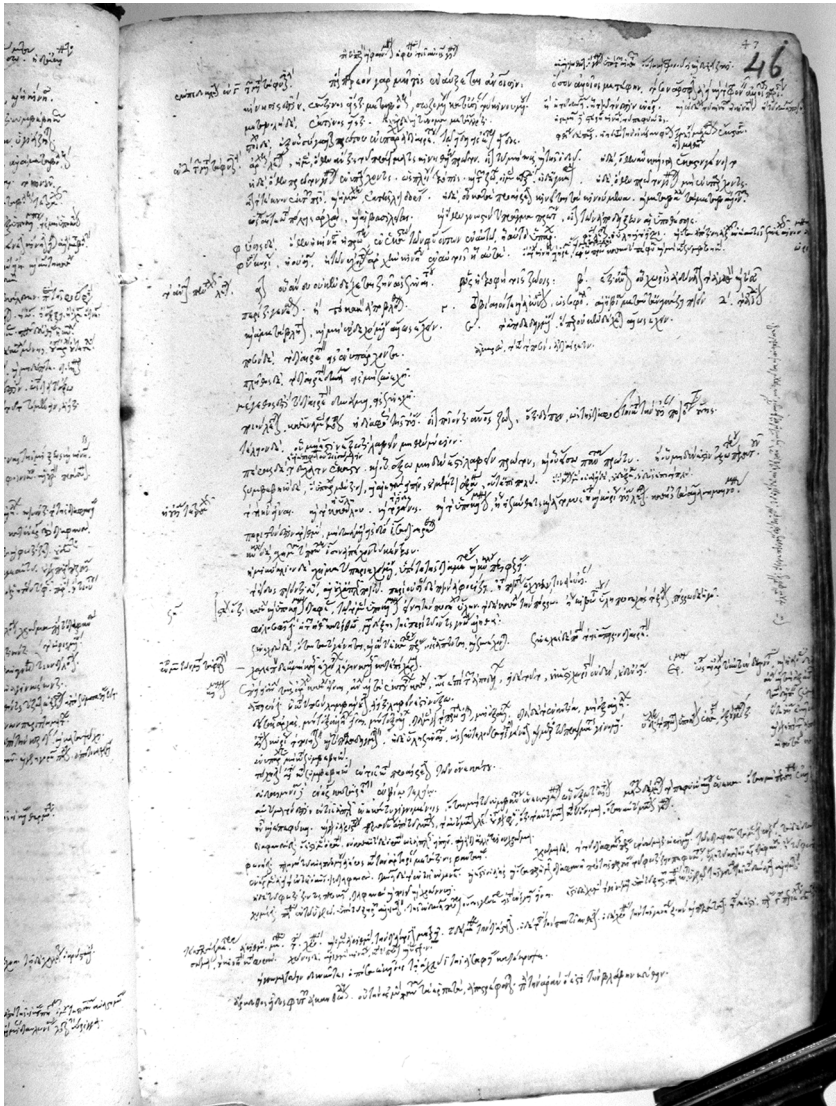


Cod. Athous, 'Ieraps Monēs' (4508 Lambros), f. 44r, ll. 11-32

Scanned from microfilm no. 138 A; filmed on February 2nd, 1971

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Moreover, it is hitherto entirely unknown that on f. 46<sup>r</sup> (formerly f. 47<sup>r</sup>) of codex *Iberon* 388 (4508 Lambros) there are some sections relating to *Metaphysics* Gamma, Delta and M $\eta$ .



Cod. Athous, 'Ieracs Monis' Ibrerwn 388 (4508 Lambros), f. 46<sup>r</sup> (olim f. 47<sup>r</sup>)

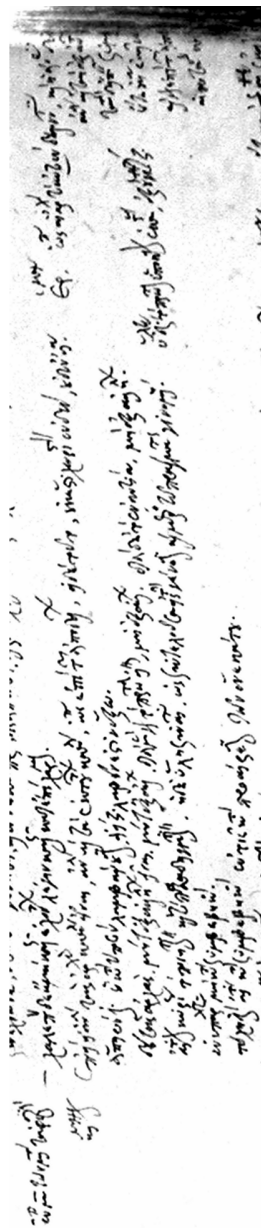
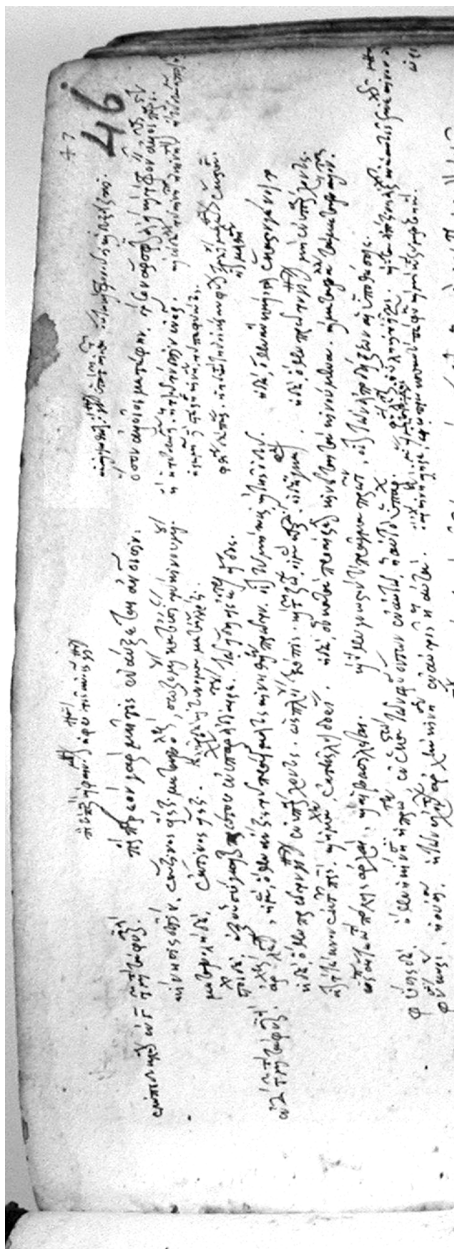
Photo: Γέρων Θεολόγος 'Ιβηρίτης, βιβλιοφυλάξ

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The first one is introduced by the words Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἐν Ἰ τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. (f. 46<sup>r</sup>, l. 2). The second is highlighted by the annotation ἐν Δ' τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. (f. 46<sup>r</sup>, l. 6). The tiny section relating to book M̄ starts in line 30; in the marginal note relating to it one can easily discern μ̄ τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά.<sup>3</sup> Further to the right on f. 46<sup>r</sup> (according to the old page count f. 47<sup>r</sup>) one can read χαλεπὸν δ' ἐκ μὴ καλῶς ἐχόντων λέγειν καλῶς κατ' ἐπίχαρμον (*Metaph.* M 9, 1086 a 16–17).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the left margin of the second photograph reproduced *infra* on p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> We hereby gratefully acknowledge that the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* in Cairo has made it easier to transcribe some sections of this manuscript by generously supplying its well-known set of special Greek characters.



Cod. Athous, 'Ιερὰς Μονῆς 'Ιβήρων 388 (4508 Lambros), f. 46<sup>r</sup>, ll. 1–11 and 30–36

Photo: Γέρων Θεολόγος 'Ιβηρίτης, βιβλιοφύλαξ

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<sup>1</sup> Readers wishing to find out where the emendation proposed by T. Case with regard to the passage 1072 a 24–25 was first published should bear in mind W.D. Ross' remark: "My apparatus criticus contains unpublished emendations ... by the President of Corpus Christi College (Mr. T. Case)". Cf. *Aristoteles, Metaphysica*, ed. W. D. Ross, vol. I, Oxford 1924, repr. 1997, v.

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## ABSTRACT

The new critical edition of the twelfth book of the *Metaphysics*, which was originally a separate treatise, is based on a detailed investigation of Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew sources.

The introductory part starts with the presentation of an unknown witness to this text, cod. Vaticanus Graecus 115, which is independent and belongs to the  $\beta$  tradition, whose manuscript basis is narrow. It continues with an exploration of the interrelationship of the forty-two previously known Greek codices as well as with a discussion of their contamination.

A presentation of the channels of indirect transmission (Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew), most of which have not been considered with due attention in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, together with a survey of the previous editions lead up to the new text and critical apparatus. Both the text and the apparatus incorporate *inter alia* readings from hitherto unduly neglected sources.

For the convenience of the reader the Arabic and Hebrew evidence has been rendered into Latin wherever this was serviceable; in order to save space manuscript sigla have often been epitomized.

In certain cases, where the reasons for an editorial decision cannot be easily deduced from the evidence presented in the apparatus, critical notes have been added.

The appendix contains the preliminary transcription of a forgotten, amply annotated humanistic translation of *Metaphysics* Lambda discovered by the author in the Milan manuscript *Ambrosianus* D 465 inf.; furthermore, it casts light upon an understudied Greek codex from the Renaissance period (*Athous Iberon* 388).



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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 40, 1980, 59–72 (Anecdota Graeca minora I).

<sup>2</sup> De eius scriptis quaedam generaliter sunt dicta, cf. 124, 125, 127 n. 67, 127, 129, 134, 140 n. 133, 142, 144, 145, 146 et 150.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. Düring, *Der Protreptikos des Aristoteles: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Frankfurt a. M. 1969. Vide et I. Düring, *Aristotle's Protrepticus: An Attempt at Reconstruction*, Göteborg 1961 (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* XII), p. 58, 2.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. VII, 3, 10 n. 39, 23 n. 1, 64, 65, 72, 73, 74 n. 27, 75 n. 29 et 30, 86, 116 n. 14, 136, 140, 144, 147 n. 173 et 151 n. 198.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 63, 64, 190 et 191.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 4, 190 et 191.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. 115.<sup>9</sup> Cf. 63 et 64.<sup>10</sup> Cf. 45, 63 et 64.<sup>11</sup> Cf. 45, 46, 51, 52, 53, 55, 64, 65, 67 et 69.<sup>12</sup> Passim; saepe hic liber etiam nominatur, cf. VII, 3, 8, 9, 11, 13, 23, 27, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41 n. 29, 45, 46, 51, 52, 53, 55, 65, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 86, 116, 130, 132 n. 91, 139, 143, 144, 149, 155, 185 et 213.

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. 37, 190 et 191.<sup>14</sup> Cf. p. 64.<sup>15</sup> In Laurentii Canozii Lendenariensis officina anno post Christum natum millesimo quadringentesimo tertio litterarum descripti sunt formis.

<i>Translatio Ioannis Argyropyli mandatu</i>	1386 a 2	125 n. 53
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173, 176	<i>In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum libros A–Z</i>	
<i>Fabii Niphii Latina translatio in Ambrosiano</i>	<i>commentaria</i>	
<i>codice D 465 inf. descripta</i>	p. 244, 2–3 ed. M. Hayduck (CAG VI.2)	
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<i>mortem ab Eduardo Wellmann primum</i>	Sanctus Basilius Magnus, Caesareae	
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<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	<i>Epistula XLII</i> (Ad Chilonem discipulum	
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1145 b 29	vol. I, p. 102, 2 ed. Y. Courtonne (Migne	
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1172 b 26	<i>Ennaratio in Prophetam Isaiam</i>	
1175 b 36	vol. I, p. 323, 3 ed. P. Trevisan <sup>18</sup> (Migne	
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1236 b 9–10	vol. I, p. 102, ed. C.A. Ruelle	
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1264 b 31–34	p. 172	129 n. 75
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<sup>16</sup> Cf. B. de Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum sive monumentorum veterum, bibliothecarum, musaeorum, &c. Notitiae singulares in Itinerario Italico collectae. Additis schematibus ac figuris*. Parisiis 1702, 375: "Aristotelis codices, Argyropylo interprete, jussu Cosmae Medicei. Alia ejusdem opera interprete Leonardo Aretino."

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Aristotelis eorum quae Physica sequuntur, sive Metaphysicorum, ut vocant, libri tredecim, quorum primus duos complectitur. Ioachimo Perionio Benedictino Cormoeriaceno interprete, Parisiis 1561.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Pietro Trevisan, *San Basilio: Commento al Profeta Isaia*, t. I–II, Augustae Taurinorum 1939.

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<sup>19</sup> Lipsiae 1922 (*Die griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*. Epiphanius. Ancoratus und Panarion. Zweiter Band. In der Reihenfolge des Erscheinens Band XXXI).

<sup>20</sup> Lipsiae 1933 (*Die griechischen Schriftsteller ... Dritter Band*. In der Reihenfolge des Erscheinens Band XXXVII).

<sup>21</sup> Legitur exempli gratia in vol. II. 1, p. 170, 10 ed. E. Schwartz, Lipsiae 1903 (*Die griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*. Eusebius. Zweiter Band, erster Teil. In der Reihenfolge des Erscheinens Band IX. 1) et in vol. I, p. 88, 13 ed. G. Bardy, Parisiis 1952 (*Sources chrétiennes* XXXI).

<sup>22</sup> De nomine gentilicio cf. Stefan Alexandru, 'Newly Discovered Witnesses Asserting Galen's Affiliation to the *gens Claudia*', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, serie 5, 3/1, 2011, 383–432 et 600–611.

<sup>23</sup> Lipsiae 1970.

<sup>24</sup> Lipsiae 1899 (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*. Origenes. Erster Band).

<sup>25</sup> Vide p. 234, 20 ed. J. Dumortier, Parisiis 1983 (*Sources Chrétiennes* CCCIV) et Migne PG LVI, 63, 12.

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<sup>26</sup> Lipsiae 1899.

<sup>27</sup> Lipsiae 1903, iterum typis impressum Amstelodami 1965.

<sup>28</sup> Parisiis 1935.

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<sup>29</sup> In summa pagina invenitur Hebraica ט (Tet) littera.

<sup>30</sup> Hebraica ' (*Yod*) littera notata est pagina.

<sup>31</sup> Vide Hebraicae partis paginam quartam decimam (ד').

<sup>32</sup> Mendose litteris טז (*Tet* et *Zayin*) sextae decimae paginae numerus indicatur; apparet scribendum fuisse טז.

<sup>33</sup> Verba Hebraica in alterae partis duodevicesima (י"ד) pagina sunt descripta.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, tertia pars a B.P. Grenfell et A.S. Hunt edita, Londini 1903, p. 51, 225: τοῖνον τὰ σεαυτῆς ἄρον.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Berliner Klassikertexte. Herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Heft V, Zweite Hälfte. Griechische Dichterfragmente. Zweite Hälfte. Lyrische und dramatische Fragmente. Bearbeitet von W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin 1907, pp. 73–79 cum tabula IV. De hac Berolinensi membrana deperdita vide et *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. V.1, ed. R. Kannicht, Goettingae 2004, 472 e, pp. 512–515, praecipue p. 514, 29.

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